This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

Gp 86.207

Harvard College Library

From the
CONSTANTIUS FUND
Bequeathed by
Evangelinus Apostolides Sophocles
Tutor and Professor of Greek
1842–1883

For Greek, Latin, and Arabic
Literature

Gp 86.207

Harvard College Library

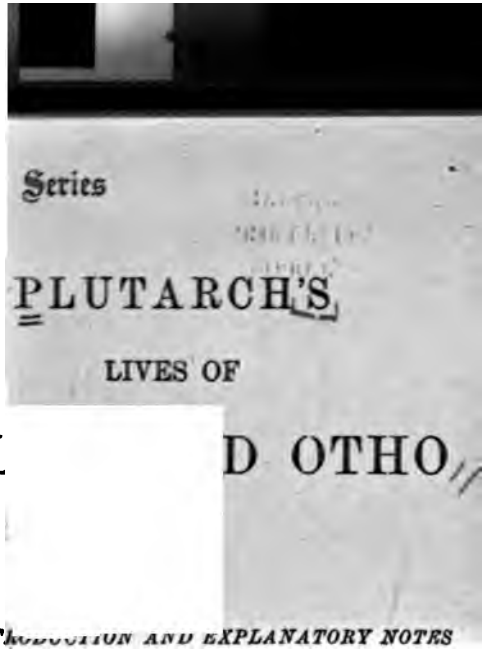
FROM THE

CONSTANTIUS FUND

Established by Professor E. A. Sophocles of Harvard University for "the purchase of Greek and Latin books (the ancient classics), or of Arabic books, or of books illustrating or explaining such Greek, Latin, or Arabic books."

PLUTARCH'S

S OF GALBA AND OTHO.



Classical Series

PLUTARCH'S LIVES OF GALBA AND OTHO

WITH INTRODUCTION AND EXPLANATORY NOTES

BY

E. G. HARDY, M.A.
FORMERLY FELLOW OF JESUS COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND
LATE HEADMASTER OF GRANTHAM SCHOOL

London:
MACMILLAN AND CO.
AND NEW YORK
1890

[All rights reserved]

~~Gp 86.207~~

Gp 86.207

HARVARD COLLEGE
JUN 9 1911
LIBRARY.
Constantius fund

HARVARD
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

PREFACE.

THE excellent editions of Dr. Holden have already introduced Plutarch's Lives to the higher forms of schools, and I need not therefore apologise for choosing a Greek author, who wrote as late as the end of the first or the beginning of the second century A.D. Perhaps more explanation is needed why I should have selected a Greek account of a period of Roman history with which one of the greatest of Roman historians has dealt. That explanation will, I hope, be found satisfactorily given in the first section of the Introduction. I there attempt to show that we have in these two Lives of Plutarch a version of this short chapter of history, independent indeed of Tacitus, but drawn from the same authority which he used, and in some cases supplementing his account. It is from this point of view primarily that I have treated the Lives in my notes. I shall no doubt be told that the length of the commentary is out of proportion to the length of the text. In my opinion this depends on the object with which books like Plutarch's Lives are read. If all that is desired is that those who use the books may be able to translate the Greek intelligently, with just that knowledge of the subject matter which intelligent reading will give, then, to be consistent, we should content ourselves with editing the text alone. To judge by the number of school editions, with more or less voluminous commentary, this does not seem to be the opinion generally held, and, though there is undoubtedly from the

point of view of pure scholarship something to be said for it, I think with reason. At any rate my own method with a sixth form has always been to make an historical work a peg on which by way of comment and illustration to hang as much historical teaching as possible. It is on this plan that I have proceeded in my notes, which, so far as they do not deal with the literary question of the relation between Plutarch and Tacitus, mainly are concerned with the elucidation of historical and constitutional points. For grammatical difficulties, where they occur, I merely give reference to Madvig's *Greek Syntax;* while to the lexicographical knowledge of Plutarch, which forms so valuable a part of Dr. Holden's editions, I make no claim.

The various monographs, German periodicals, and other books which have been of use to me are referred to in their proper place.

It only remains for me to express my thanks to Mr. W. W. Fowler, Sub-rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, a well-known and distinguished Plutarchean scholar, for his kindness in reading over the proofs of the Introduction, and to Mr. S. R. Brooke, of Grantham School, for doing the same kind office to the notes. Whatever errors and blemishes may still remain, they are considerably fewer than they would have been but for this assistance.

The text adopted is mainly that of Sintenis, with a few exceptions given on page cxxiii.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Introduction, ...	ix-cxxiv
Plutarch, . . .	ix-lv
Suetonius, . . .	lvi-lx
The relation, . . .	lx-cxi
Mss. and Editions, . . .	cxi-cxxiii
Variations from Sintenis, . . .	cxxiii
Ascertained Dates, ...	cxxiv
Greek Text with Apparatus Criticus, . .	1-84
Galba's Life, ...	1-50
Otho's Life, ...	51-84
Notes, ...	85-274
To Galba, ...	85-206
To Otho, ...	207-274
Appendix on Inscriptions and Coins, . .	275-282
Index to the Notes, ...	283

INTRODUCTION.

PLUTARCH AND TACITUS.

THE authenticity of the Lives of Galba and
though it has not absolutely escaped the att
German criticism, has never been very seriou
pugned, and it is not necessary to enter in
question here any further than to mention
two of the most obvious reasons which se
justify the accepted view that they were writ
Plutarch. (1) They are mentioned in the Ca

Sertorius, etc.: they are interspersed quite after Plutarch's manner with quotations from poets (conf. *Galb.* 16, 22, and 27, 31), and in several places they show that imperfect knowledge of Latin which we know from Plutarch himself that he possessed. "ἡμεῖς δὲ ὄψε ποτε καὶ πόρρω τῆς ἡλικίας ἠρξάμεθα ῥωμαϊκοῖς γράμμασιν ἐντυγχάνειν . . . . ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διατριβαῖς οὐ σχολῆς οὔσης γυμνάζεσθαι περὶ τὴν ῥωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον ὑπὸ χρειῶν πολιτικῶν," *Demosth.* c. 2. (3) The writer of these Lives was a friend of Mestrius Florus, and had travelled in Italy with him (*Oth.* 14), and that Mestrius Florus was known to Plutarch we learn from his Moral Writings, in several of which he appears as an interlocutor, while that Plutarch visited Italy several times and once during Vespasian's reign we also know from himself (*de Soller. Anim.* 19, and conf. *de Curios.* 15). We shall therefore take it for granted that Plutarch is the author of our two Lives.

Another question however immediately suggests itself on reading these Lives, which is not so easily disposed of, and into which, especially as the subject seems never to have been treated in any English book, it will be necessary to enter with some detail. The reigns of Galba and Otho, of which Plutarch here writes the history, are, as is well known, also narrated by a more brilliant historian than Plutarch, and one who is also much more familiar to most students. They in fact form the subject of the first and half of the second book of the *Histories* of Tacitus. Few instances have come down to us from classical

times in which the same period of history has been narrated by two writers so closely contemporary with one another as Plutarch and Tacitus, and the fact that they belonged to different nations and wrote each in his own language certainly make no less interesting the question—what relation their accounts bear to one another, were the authorities which they used the same or different, or is there any sign of one account having been derived from the other?

It so happens that both Tacitus and Plutarch have given us in their own words the scope and object of their respective works. Tacitus, after premising that his period begins with the consulship of Galba and Vinius, goes on to say (i. 4), "Coterum antequam destinata componam, repetendum videtur, qualis status urbis, quae mens exercituum, quis habitus provinciarum, quid in toto terrarum orbe validum, quid aegrum fuerit, ut non modo casus eventusque rerum, qui plerumque fortuiti sunt, sed ratio etiam causaeque noscantur." These words lead us to expect from Tacitus a history of the whole empire during the period he has chosen, not confined to the events in Italy and Rome, but embracing the fortune of the provinces as well, a history too, based on a rational investigation of the causes which underlay the events narrated. Plutarch, on the other hand, after some introductory remarks of a moralising nature, concludes cap. 2 with the words "Τὰ μὲν οὖν καθ' ἕκαστα τῶν γενομένων ἀπαγγέλλειν ἀκριβῶς τῆς πραγματικῆς ἱστορίας ἐστίν, ὅσα δὲ ἄξια λόγου τοῖς τῶν Καισάρων ἔργοις καὶ πάθεσι συμπέπτωκεν, οὐδὲ ἐμοὶ προσήκει

παρελθεῖν. In other words, Plutarch is not writing a general history of the empire. He is rather selecting out of such a general history those events in which the personal fortunes of the emperors were directly or indirectly concerned. It is to be observed however that, if Plutarch disclaims the composition of πραγματικὴ ἱστορία, he by no means says here as he does elsewhere (*vit. Alex.* 1) that he is writing mere Βίοι. It is important on more grounds than one to note this. He does not say that he is going to narrate the ἔργα and πάθη of the emperors, but those events which had a connection with their ἔργα and πάθη; in other words, not their biographies but their reigns, and it is quite in accordance with this promise that he carries out his work.

We should expect therefore from these two passages to find that the account of Tacitus is a wider and more complete one than that of Plutarch. And this is in fact the case. We have nothing in Plutarch answering to the general view which Tacitus takes of the state of the various provinces of the empire (i. 4-11). The detailed account of the state of the German provinces which Tacitus gives us (i. 51-60) is represented in Plutarch by a single chapter (*Galb.* 22), nearly a quarter of which is occupied by a speech of one of the soldiers, though it is no doubt true that a good deal of what Tacitus tells us may have been given by Plutarch under the lost reign of Vitellius. The incidents in the march of Valens and Caecina into Italy (*Tac.* i. 61-70) are for the same reason omitted in Plutarch, who likewise makes no mention

of the invasion of Moesia by the Rhoxolani (Tac. i. 79). Nor does he give us anything corresponding to the sketch of affairs in the Eastern provinces with which Tacitus opens his Second Book (ii. 1-10). In fact Plutarch makes no mention of the provinces at all except in so far as the personal fortunes of the emperors are concerned in them, and so, while references are made to the state of Spain and Gaul in connection with Galba and Vindex, and to Germany in connection with Verginius Rufus and the rising against Galba, the affairs of the other provinces are entirely passed over, only Africa being alluded to in reference to Clodius Macer, Syria and Judaea in reference to the attitude of Mucianus and Vespasian, and the Illyrican provinces in reference to the side taken by their legions. So closely indeed does Plutarch confine himself to the one main thread of his narrative, that he says nothing of the expedition of Otho's fleet and the resulting campaign in Gallia Narbonensis described by Tacitus (ii. 12-16). With these exceptions however, and we should have been glad if Tacitus had made them more numerous by paying still greater attention to the non-Italian part of his subject, the two narratives take a strikingly similar course. How similar it is, will best be seen from the following conspectus, which it will be convenient to insert at this point, after which we shall be in a better position to discuss the relation of the two narratives to one another.

Tacitus begins his *Histories* with the commencement of the year 69 A.D., whereas Plutarch gives

some account of Galba's government of Tarraconensis, of his correspondence with Vindex, his proclamation by his army, and his march to Italy, while several chapters are devoted to the attempt made at Rome by Nymphidius Sabinus in the interval between Nero's death and [illegible] to secure the empire for himself. T[illegible]ce therefore with Tacitus of the firs[illegible]ers of Plutarch's *Galba* is naturally [illegible] although Tacitus, partly in his resumé [illegible] ... the empire (i. 4-11), partly in the s[illegible] Otho (i. 37, 38), and in other scattered noti[illegible]ats portions of what had no doubt their proper place in the last Book of the *Annals*. Thus he mentions the "donativum sub nomine Galbae promissum" (i. 5), the particulars of which are given in full by Plutarch (*Galb.* 2, 6-12), and also very briefly the attempt "Nymphidii Sabini praefecti imperium sibi molientis" (i. 5). The attitude of Verginius Rufus in Germany and his proclamation as imperator by his army are similarly alluded to by Plutarch (*Galb.* 6, 9-14) and Tacitus (i. 8 *ad fin.*). A still closer resemblance is seen in the two references to Icelus, Galba's freedman :—

τῷ δὲ ἀπελευθέρῳ δακτύλιον τε χρυσοῦν ἔδωκε καὶ Μαρκιανὸν ὁ Ἴκελος ἔβη καλεῖσθαι εἶχε τὴν πρώτην ἐν τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις δύναμιν (Plut. *Galb.* 7 *ad fin.*).

nec minor gratia Icelo Galbae liberto, quem anulis donatum equestri nomine Marcianum vocitabant (Tac. *Hist.* i. 13).

Plutarch's statement that Fabius Valens ὥρμησε πρῶτος εἰς Γάλβαν in the army of Verginius (*Galb.* 10, 19) is confirmed, though without the mention of

The collision with the classiarii described v details by Plutarch (*Galb.* 15, 18 foll.) is bri mentioned by Tacitus (i. 6). The exaction of Neronian *donationes* is with the exception of circumstance (see below, p. xxx.) similarly descri by Plutarch (*Galb.* 16, 8 foll.) and Tacitus (i. The growing unpopularity of Vinius and his influe over Galba is similarly described in Plutarch (*G* 16 *ad fin.*) and Tacitus (i. 12 *ad fin.*). The tempor preservation of Tigellinus owing to the influence Vinius is mentioned with some detail by Pluta (*Galb.* 17, 9 foll.), and is briefly alluded to by Taci on the occasion of his execution under Otho, "a Galbam Titi Vinii potentia defensus" (i. 72), wh the demand for his punishment by the mob ἐν τ θεάτροις καὶ σταδίοις is also mentioned by Taci (*loc. cit.*).

Plutarch's remark in reference to Galba's unpo larity καὶ τὰ μετρίως πραττόμενα διαβολὴν εἶχεν (*G* 18 *ad init.*) is found also in Tacitus, "inviso se principe seu bene seu male facta perinde invidi adferebant" (i. 7). The rewards given to th states of Gaul which had supported Vindex alluded to in Plut. *Galb.* 18, 4 and Tac. i. 8 and 51

The anger of the soldiers at the non-payment the donative is mentioned by both (Plut. *Galb.* 18 and Tac. i. 5), and also the effect produced by Galb assertion εἰωθέναι καταλέγειν στρατιώτας οὐκ ἀγοράζ which Plutarch says was φωνῇ μεγάλῳ ἡγεμόνι π πουσα, Tacitus, "vox pro republica honesta" (Pl *Galb.* 18, 11, Tac. i. 5).

Both again relate in almost identical language the attempted corruption of the cohort which attended Galba when he dined at Otho's house (Plut. *Galb.* 20, 26, Tac. i. 24). The support of Otho as a candidate for adoption by Vinius, and the projected marriage of the former with Vinius' daughter, are mentioned by Plutarch (*Galb.* 21, 2) and Tacitus (i. 13), while Plutarch arrives at the consulship of Galba and Vinius, with which Tacitus begins the *Histories*, at the end of chap. 21.

In chap. 22 Plutarch relates the events leading to the proclamation of Vitellius by the German armies. The anger of the soldiers at the recall of Verginius (line 5) is mentioned in Tac. i. 8; the rewards given to the supporters of Vindex and the punishment inflicted on those who opposed him (lines 6, 7) are stated in i. 8 and 53. The throwing down of Galba's images on January 1, and the oath taken to the senate and Roman people (lines 12-17) are similarly described in Tacitus (i. 55). The mention of Vitellius as πατρὸς τιμητοῦ καὶ τρὶς ὑπάτου (line 27) is paralleled in Tac. i. 52 *ad fin.* The bringing of the news to Vitellius by the standard-bearer (line 35) is given in i. 56 in almost identical words, and the proclamation by Valens (line 40) in i. 57 *ad init.* The mid-day gluttony and drunkenness of Vitellius (line 43) is described in i. 62, and also his acceptance of the title of Germanicus and his refusal of that of Caesar; while both Plutarch and Tacitus use the same language in regard to the taking of the oath by the Upper army:—

τοὺς καλοὺς ἐκείνους καὶ δημοκρατικοὺς εἰς σύγκλητον ὅρκους ἀφέντες (line 47).	speciosis senatus populique Romani nominibus relictis (i. 57).

In what follows the accounts agree very closely together. The adoption of Piso is given in Plut. c. 23, 6 foll., and Tac. i. 14, the omens on the way to the camp (Plut. c. 23, 12 etc., Tac. i. 18), the behaviour of Piso (Plut. c. 23, 21, Tac. i. 17), the discomposure of Otho (Plut. c. 23, 25, Tac. i. 21), his encouragement by astrologers (Plut. 23, 34, Tac. i. 22), the conspiracy of Onomastus, Veturius, and Barbius (Plut. 24, 1-4, Tac. i. 25), Galba's sacrifice on the Palatine (Plut. 24, 11, Tac. i. 47), the departure of Otho on the pretext of inspecting his newly-bought house (Plut. 24, 22, Tac. i. 27), and his arrival at the aureum miliarium (Plut. 24 *ad fin.*, Tac. i. 27).

Similar accounts follow of the proclamation of the 23 soldiers (Plut. 25, 2, Tac. i. 27), the hurry to the camp (Plut. 25, 12, Tac. i. 27), Otho's admission by Martialis (Plut. 25, 17, Tac. i. 28), the rumours brought to Galba (Plut. 25, 23, Tac. i. 28), the attempt of Piso to secure the cohort guarding in the palace (Plut. 25, 30, Tac. i. 29), and the mission of Marius Celsus to the legionaries in the porticus Vipsania (Plut. 25, 32, Tac. i. 31). Both authors proceed to mention the dispute between Vinius and Laco as to whether Galba should go forth or remain in the palace (Plut. 26 *ad init.*, Tac. i. 32-38), the rumour of Otho's death (Plut. 26, 4, Tac. i. 34), Galba's reproof to Iulius Atticus (Plut. 26, 11, Tac. i. 35), Galba's conveyance in the litter to the forum

(Plut. *Oth.* 3, 17 foll., Tac. i. 80), the banquet of Otho at Rome which it disturbed, the flight of his guests, his own fears, the despatch of the praetorian praefects to the soldiers, and the punishment of two ringleaders (Plut. *Oth.* 3, 30 to end, Tac. i. 80-83).

After news of the Vitellian rising is brought, both mention the encouraging tidings from Pannonia and Moesia and also from Syria and Judaea (Plut. *Oth.* 4, 5-12, Tac. i. 76), the offers made by Otho to Vitellius and the bitter correspondence which followed (Plut. *Oth.* 4, 13-21, Tac. i. 74), various omens reported in Rome (Plut. *Oth.* 4, 25, Tac. i. 86), and in particular the inundation of the Tiber (*ib. ib.*).

The sequestration of Dolabella to Aquinum is mentioned by Plutarch (*Oth.* 5, 3), by Tacitus (i. 88). Both narrate how Otho ordered L. Vitellius and other senators to accompany him (Plut. *Oth.* 5, 6, Tac. i. 88), the appointment of Flavius Sabinus as praefectus urbi (Plut. *Oth.* 5, 12, Tac. i. 46), and the names of Otho's generals (Plut. *Oth.* 5, 19, Tac. i. 87).

After the actual commencement of the campaign we get parallel accounts of the insubordination of Spurinna's troops in Placentia (*Oth.* 5, 36, Tac. ii. 18), of the taunts levelled at the praetorian cohorts by the Vitellians (Plut. *Oth.* 6, 5, Tac. ii. 21), of the raising of the siege of Placentia (Plut. *Oth.* 6, 14, Tac. ii. 22), of the dress and behaviour of Caecina and his wife (Plut. *Oth.* 6, 21, Tac. ii. 20), of the rapacity and exactions of Valens (Plut. *Oth.* 6, 27, Tac. i. 66), of the blame attaching to Caecina for hurrying forward a battle (Plut. *Oth.* 6 *ad fin.*, Tac. ii. 24). Then follows

the advance of Annius Gallus upon Cremona (Plut. Oth. 7, 4, Tac. ii. 23), the ambush prepared by Caecina (Plut. *Oth.* 7, 9, Tac. ii. 24), the battle near the temple of Castor and the delay of Paulinus (Plut. *Oth.* 7, 12-20, Tac. ii. 25), the appointment of Titianus and Proculus to the chief command (Plut. *Oth.* 7, 29, Tac. ii. 39), the insubordination of Valens' troops and his junction with Caecina (Plut. *Oth.* 7 *ad fin.*, Tac. ii. 29 and 31).

Both authors give the council of war at Bedriacum, the arguments of Paulinus for delay, the opinion of Titianus and Proculus for immediate action (Plut. *Oth.* 8, Tac. ii. 32 and 33). Both also mention Otho's own impatience and inability to bear the continued suspense (Plut. *Oth.* 9, 7, Tac. ii. 40), and both allude though in a different way to the opinion that the project was entertained by the two armies of setting aside both Otho and Vitellius, and choosing or allowing the senate to choose some third candidate of better reputation (Plut. *Oth.* 9, 14 foll., Tac. ii. 37 foll.). Both mention Otho's decision to return to Brixellum, and comment on the mistaken policy of the act (Plut. *Oth.* 10, 1-6, Tac. ii. 33).

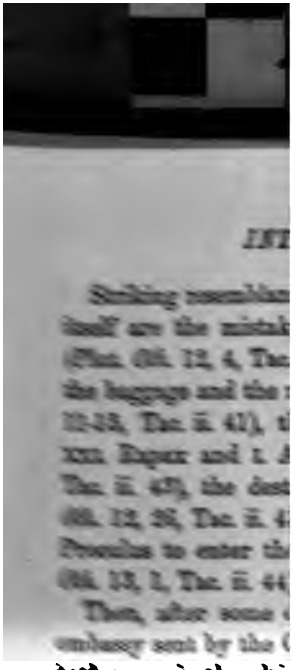
Then follows an account of the battle between the Vitellians and Otho's gladiators on the Po (Plut. *Oth.* 10, 7 foll., Tac. ii. 34 and 35), of the unwise leading out and unskilful encampment of the Othonians (Plut. *Oth.* 11, 1-8, Tac. ii. 39), of the opposition of Celsus and Paulinus and the imperative order of Otho to fight (Plut. *Oth.* 11, 9-18, Tac. ii. 40), of the return of Caecina from the river and the first charge of the cavalry (Plut. *Oth.* 11 *ad fin.*, Tac. ii. 41).

Striking resemblances in the account of the battle itself are the mistaken salutation by the Othonians (Plut. *Oth.* 12, 4, Tac. ii. 42), the confusion caused by the baggage and the numerous ditches (Plut. *Oth.* 12, 11-15, Tac. ii. 41), the combat between the legions XXI. Rapax ut. *Oth.* 12, 17 foll., Tac. ii. 43), the gladiators (Plut. *Oth.* 12, 26, T fear of Paulinus and Proculus to e h the fugitives (Plut. *Oth.* 13, 1, Tac

Then, after the accounts of the embassy sent by the Otho (see below, p. xxxiv.), both agree in the ultimate fusion of the armies (Plut. *Oth.* 13 *ad fin.*, Tac. ii. 45), in the news of the battle reaching Otho (Plut. *Oth.* 15, 1, Tac. ii. 46), in the enthusiastic fidelity of the troops (Plut. *Oth.* 15, 4 foll., Tac. ii. 46), in his care for his friends' departure (Plut. *Oth.* 16, 3 foll., Tac. ii. 48), in his conversation with his nephew Cocceianus (Plut. *Oth.* 16, 8 foll., Tac. ii. 45), in his choice of a dagger after drinking some water (Plut. *Oth.* 17, 1-3, Tac. ii. 49), in his distribution of money to his attendants (Plut. *Oth.* 17, 6, Tac. ii. 48), in the manner of his death and the grief of the soldiers (Plut. *Oth.* 17, 18 foll., Tac. ii. 49), in the modest character of his tomb (Plut. *Oth.* 18, 3, Tac. ii. 49), and finally in the application of the soldiers to Verginius Rufus to accept the empire or at least to act as their ambassador (Plut. *Oth.* 18 *ad fin.*, Tac. ii. 51).

It will be apparent at once from this comparison that we have a very remarkable correspondence be-

tween the two narratives to account for. That there was some definite and close relationship between the two is clear, since it is quite inconceivable that two writers working independently of one another, and using different authorities, could have produced accounts so similar. Various theories have been put forward to account for this similarity, which could not but strike even the most careless reader of both. That Tacitus made use of Plutarch's account in the composition of his *Histories* has naturally occurred to no one, and the very statement of a suggestion so improbable is sufficient to discredit it; but the converse supposition that Plutarch had the account of Tacitus before him has in it nothing *a priori* impossible, and it is probably the first explanation which would suggest itself. This view has accordingly not been without its supporters (see Clason, *Plutarch und Tacitus*, 1870), and it is adopted by Nipperdey in the Introduction to his admirable edition of the *Annals* (p. 29, ed. 1879). By most scholars however this view is no longer regarded as tenable, and therefore the only alternative is to suppose that both Plutarch and Tacitus independently made use of the same authority or authorities for their histories. The question however as to what this authority was has been answered in several ways. According to one view (Hirzel, *Comparatio eorum quae de imperatore Galba et Othone relata legimus apud Tacitum, Suetonium, Plutarchum*, etc. 1851), it was the 'acta diurna' to which Tacitus frequently refers in the *Annals* (conf. iii. 3, xii. 24, xiii. 31, xvi. 22), and of which he says, "diurna populi



lished in instalments, and no doubt Books I.-II. appeared together. Mommsen holds (*Hermes*, iii., p. 107), and his view is generally accepted, that the two books were either published, or at any rate communicated to friends, about 105 or 106 A.D. They were certainly not begun when the *Agricola* was published in 97 A.D. (*Agric.* c. 3). In the first four books of his *Letters* too, *i.e.* up to 105 A.D., Pliny, though he several times speaks of Tacitus, always does so as of a famous orator; it is not till the sixth book, published in 106 or 107, that he makes any reference to his historical studies, and at that time Tacitus is collecting materials for the reign of Titus (*Ep.* v. 16). We may assume therefore that the first books of the *Histories* were not published earlier than 105 or 106 A.D. Now how does the case stand with Plutarch? We know from passages in his own writings that he was a young man when Nero passed through Delphi in 66 A.D. (*de E apud Delphos*, 1 and 17), that he was on one occasion at Rome during Vespasian's reign (*de sollert. anim.* 19), that he remembered the famous eruption of Vesuvius (*de Pyth. orac.* 9), and also the wintering of some emperor on the Danube (*de princ. frig.* ὡς ἱστοροῦσιν οἱ νῦν μετὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἴστρου διαχειμάσαντες, which probably refers to Trajan in the winter of 97-98 A.D.). From this it appears that he was born about 46 A.D. and lived on into Trajan's reign. His literary activity however must certainly have begun earlier than this, since he was already about fifty-one at the time of Nerva's death. With this the notice in Suidas agrees which puts his

literary activity ἐπὶ τῶν Τραιανοῦ χρόνων καὶ ἔτι πρόσθεν. The Parallel Lives were probably written under Trajan. An allusion appears to be made to the death of Domitian in *vit. Num.* 19, and *vit. Poplic.* 15, while in *vit. Sull.* 21 he says that the capture of Athens by Sulla took place nearly 200 years ago, which would seem to show that this Life was written shortly before 114 A.D. But as has been already pointed out, the Lives of Galba and Otho are not biographies in the same sense as the rest. In the first place it may be regarded as certain that there were no Greek parallels to them, nor are the accounts of Galba and Otho separated from one another by any distinct line, since all that is said of Otho's earlier career comes in cap. 19 of *Galba*, and cap. 1 of *Otho* is a mere continuation of the events narrated in cap. 28 of *Galba*. But if they were not separated from one another, neither to all appearance were they separated from what had preceded them, viz., the account of Nero, nor from what followed, that of Vitellius. For there is a backward reference in *Galb.* 2, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, and a forward reference in *Oth.* 18, τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα καιρὸν οἰκεῖον ἔχει λεχθῆναι. Again, they cannot be called biographies, because they give next to no account of the earlier lives of Galba and Otho. Galba's career up to his election as emperor is contained in one short chapter (cap. 3), while of Otho's earlier history we learn absolutely nothing except the notorious incident in connection with Poppaea, and that, as already stated, under the account of Galba. Again, biography, as Plutarch

understood it, had a moral much more than an historical end in view: facts yielded in importance to moral lessons, and chronological order to artistic symmetry. But in the Lives before us, with the exception of the first two chapters of *Galba*, we have practically no moralising at all: the events are narrated as historical events and in strictly chronological order. In all these respects then there is a striking contrast to the Parallel Lives. These are each of them artistically rounded off into a complete whole; the early history and origin of each character is usually given as fully as Plutarch's materials allowed, moral reflections are conspicuous and abundant, and the narrative is not hampered by strict adherence to chronological sequence. But the Parallel Lives represent Plutarch's style and manner in its greatest maturity and perfection. He consciously and of set purpose subordinated mere history to moral portraiture, and the method of paralleling Roman and Greek Lives was an essential part of his plan. When therefore we find two Lives without Greek parallels, with scarcely a trace of moralising tendencies, full of facts arranged in chronological order, with no symmetry of arrangement, and we may add, as will be shown later on, in great measure a mere Greek reproduction of a Latin original, we must, I think, infer that they belonged to a different stage of Plutarch's literary history from the Parallel Lives, and to an earlier, not a later one. Another line of argument leads to the same result. According to the Catalogue of Lamprias, Plutarch carried up his imperial history as far as Vitellius,

other hand he wrote while Domitian was
there is an easily intelligible reason why
have deemed it expedient to stop short at
of Vitellius. External evidence therefore, a
goes, seems to point to the conclusion t
Plutarch probably wrote these Lives befor
tories of Tacitus were published, he could
used them as his authority. This conclusio
firmed beyond all doubt by internal evidenc
careful examination shows that a number
omitted by Tacitus are added by Plutarch,
many others discrepancies are evident betw
two versions, in some of which Plutarch ap
be the better guide of the two. The followin
cases, though probably not absolutely compl
tains almost all, and certainly all of any
ance :—

1. Plutarch (*G.* 6, 19) says that Vindex committe
Οὐίνδικος ἑαυτὸν ἀναλίσκει). Tacitus knows nothin
nd implies that he was killed in the battle (i. 51, c

. 14).

21. Plutarch alone mentions the fact that Nero had l
iso's parents (*G.* 23, 8). For the inaccuracy of the
ent see my note *ad loc.*

22. He is also the sole authority for the statement
tho was supported by the disappointed adherents of T
ius and Nymphidius (*G.* 23 *ad fin.*).

23. In connection with the sacrifice offered by Galba, l
ch says it was *ἐν Παλατίῳ* (*G.* 24, 12); Tacitus that it
pro aede Apollinis" (i. 27). Plutarch also says that
ppened *ἔωθεν*, which Tacitus omits.

24. Plutarch alone mentions Otho's change of colou
aring the report of Umbricius the haruspex (*G.* 24, 21)

25. and his exclamation while being borne to the praeto
np that he was ruined (*G.* 25, 9);

26. also that Vinius and Laco and some freedmen d
ir swords to protect Galba (*G.* 25, 30).

27. He alone gives the answer of Iulius Atticus to
stion of Galba *τίς σε ἐκέλευσε*; (*G.* 26, 11);

28. and mentions that Galba left the palace *τῷ τε Διὶ θ*
φανῆναι τοῖς πολίταις βουλόμενος (*G.* 26, 14).

29. He alone mentions Otho's cavalry appearing thro
Basilica Pauli (*G.* 26, 23).

30. According to Plutarch Sempronius Densus defen

with the treatment of Galba's head by the soldiers, which Tacitus omits (*G.* 27, 11).

33. Plutarch alone gives the words of Otho on seeing Galba's head (*G.* 27, 20).

34. Plutarch adds to the account of Tacitus (i. 71) about the release of Celsus from the soldiers, that Otho pretended that he wished to get some information from him before his execution (*G.* 27 *ad fin.*).

35. He alone mentions the sum paid by Crispina for the head of Vinius, her father (*G.* 28, 8);

36. and mentions the Sessorium as the place where Galba's head was thrown (*G.* 28, 13).

37. He alone mentions the part taken by Helvidius Priscus in burying the body of Galba (*G.* 28 *ad fin.*).

38. He alone mentions the request of Tigellinus that he might have time given him to shave his beard (*O.* 2, 17).

39. He mentions, while Tacitus omits, the report given on the authority of Cluvius Rufus that the Spanish diplomata were inscribed 'Nero Otho' (*O.* 3, 8).

40. Plutarch represents the mutiny of the 17th cohort as originating at Ostia (*O.* 3, 19 etc.). Tacitus' account implies that it happened in the praetorian camp at Rome.

41. Plutarch gives the number of senators who were feasting with Otho at the time (*O.* 3, 31).

42. Plutarch makes the scarcity caused by the inundation intelligible by mentioning, what Tacitus omits, that the part of the city where the corn was stored was flooded (*O.* 4 *ad fin.* conf. Tac. i. 86).

43. Plutarch alone says that Dolabella was sent to Aquinum partly because he was suspected by the praetorian cohorts (*O.* 5, 4).

44. According to Plutarch (*O.* 5, 11), Flavius Sabinus was made praefectus urbi just before the departure of Otho. According to Tacitus he was created (and by the soldiers themselves) immediately after Galba's death (i. 46).

45. According to Plutarch Otho remained behind at this time at Brixellum (*O.* 5, 16). Tacitus does not mention this,

[illegible] owing to the faults of the Vitel
according to Tacitus it was the unwonted labou
camp, and the representation of the veterans as
of remaining in the open plain (ii. 19).

48. Plutarch represents Cremona as being on
side and threatened by the Vitellians (*O.* 7,
clearly implies that it already had been occ
Vitellians (ii. 18 and 23).

49. Plutarch gives one reason for Otho's hur
the authority of Secundus, Otho's secretary (*O.*
tus does not mention his name, though he al
reason (ii. 40).

50. The mention of Marius and Sulla, Pompeiu
in connection with the reported desire of both ar
to terms without fighting is brought in quite d
Plutarch (*O.* 9, 25 etc.) and Tacitus (ii. 38).

51. Plutarch mentions the sending of fire-s
Caecina's bridge by the Othonians (*O.* 10, 11), w
altogether omits (ii. 34).

52. Plutarch represents the Germans as the att
in the battle on the island (*O.* 10, 18); Tacitus t
(ii. 35).

53. Plutarch says that Proculus led the Othon
stades from Bedriacum (*O.* 11, 4). Tacitus say
(ii. 39).

54. The distance to be traversed by the Othor
next day in order [illegible]

…ne, must necessarily have come from some o…
…hority than Tacitus, for the simple reason that
…se events happened in 68, and Tacitus begins
…tories with January 1st, 69. Since therefore b
ernal and internal evidence forbid us to supp
t Plutarch borrowed his account from Tacitus,
…e the resemblances are too great to be the re…
…ccident, our only alternative is to ascribe them
employment by both historians of a comm
…ority.

…ut it is asserted by some that Plutarch and Tacit
…ar from using some one common authority, u…
…ral sources, and in defence of this assertion th…
cited such expressions in Plutarch as (1) εἴτε
…ν ἔνιοι . . . . εἴτε (*Galb.* 14, 25); (2) εἴτε . . . . ε
φασιν ἔνιοι (*Galb.* 19, 32); (3) τότε δὲ φασ
b. 22, 42); (4) ὥς φασι (*Galb.* 25, 17); (5) ἀπέσφα
…τὸν ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι λέγουσι, Καμούριος τις . . .
δὲ Τερέντιον, οἱ δὲ Λεκάνιον (*Galb.* 27, 7); (6)
συμβῆναι (*Oth.* 4, 32); (7) οἱ δὲ τὸν Κεκίν
…ναι (*Oth.* 6, 31); (8) ἑτέρων δὲ ἦν ἀκούειν ὅτι . . .

that Plutarch ascribes these incidents in the last resort to common report; (5), (7), and (8) alone seem of any importance, and these at once receive their explanation by turning to the corresponding passages of Tacitus. Thus with (5) compare Tac. i. 41, 'quidam Terentium evocatum, alii Lecanium, crebrior fama tradidit Camurium,' etc. With (7) compare Tac. ii. 24 and ii. 30, and with (8) compare Tac. ii. 37, 'invenio apud quosdam auctores,' etc. From this it appears that in just those passages which seem to give the strongest evidence of several authorities having been used, Tacitus in almost the same words refers apparently to several authorities also. The obvious inference from this is that in both cases the double references were not from the authorities cited themselves, but from some common source used by Plutarch and Tacitus, who have so cited them. To the same category may be added the reference to the rhetorician Secundus in *Oth.* 9, 13, in which case Tacitus mentions the same report though without a reference to its author (ii. 40). Now the report of Secundus was evidently an oral not a written report (διηγεῖτο). But to whom was it made? Not to Plutarch or he would have said so, as he does in the case of Mestrius Florus (*Oth.* 14), and besides it would be too wonderful a coincidence that Secundus should have mentioned this same point both to Plutarch and Tacitus. Clearly, therefore, he made the report to the common authority of both, and both use it, though only Plutarch repeats its source. There is, therefore, as far as internal evidence goes, no reason

to think that lutarch used a plurality of authorities. That it was not his custom to do so in the *Lives* has been very conclusively shown by H. Peter (*Die Quellen Plutarchs*) who by an exhaustive analysis establishes the point that, wherever it was at all practicable, Plutarch uses authority only for each of his *Lives*, and there nothing in those of Galba and Otho which on ex nation proves to be inconsistent with this conclusion.

But when we assert that ch and Tacitus used a common authority, it is not merely meant that they took from it the general course of their narratives, their facts, and even the delineation of character. So much appears clearly from the general comparison of the two which has been already given. The resemblance is in many cases even closer than this alone implies, and we have no hesitation in asserting that the employment of this authority often amounted to what is practically a literal and almost word for word translation. The justification for this assertion will be found in the following list of parallel passages, which might probably be added to, but which, as it stands, sufficiently speaks for itself:—

PLUTARCH.	TACITUS.
G. 12, 10. Δειπνῶν δὲ παρὰ Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν ὑφείλετο· πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκάλεσεν, ἐλθόντι δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἐκείνῳ μηδὲν ἀργυροῦν, ἀλλὰ κεράμεα πάντα προσφέρειν.	i. 48. Servili deinceps probro respersus est, tanquam scyphum aureum in convivio Claudii furatus, et Claudius postera die soli omnium Vinio fictilibus ministrari iussit.

G. 15, 5. *Ἔδοξε μὴ νομίμων εἰ καὶ δικαίων μηδὲ δημοτικῶν ἀνδρὶ ῥαιδίως πρὸ κρίσεως ἄνδρας οὐκ ἀσήμους.*	i. 6. Ille, ut Nymphidii socius, hic ut dux Neronis, inauditi atque indefensi, tanquam innocentes, perierant.
G. 15, 32. *Τῇδε δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀκίνων, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀνατρακέντες, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες διεφθάρησαν, οὐ χρηστὸν οὐδὲ αἴσιον τοιοῦντες τῷ Γάλβᾳ τὸν εἰωνὸν εἰσιόντι διὰ πολλοῦ φόνου καὶ νεκρῶν τοσούτων εἰς τὴν πόλιν.*	i. 6. Introitus in urbem trucidatis tot millibus inermium militum infaustus omine atque ipsis etiam qui occiderant formidolosus.
G. 17, 14. *ὁ δὲ τοιήσας ἄξιον θανάτου Νίμφων καὶ γενόμενον τοιοῦτον ἐγκαταλιπὼν καὶ προδούς—*	i. 72. Corrupto ad omne facinus Nerone ... ac postremo eiusdem desertor ac proditor.
G. 18, 10. *ἀφῆκε φωνὴν ἡγεμόνι μεγάλῃ πρέπουσαν, εἰπὼν εἰωθέναι καταλέγειν στρατιώτας, οὐκ ἀγοράζειν.*	i. 5. Accessit Galbae vox pro re publica honesta, ipsi anceps, legi a se militem, non emi.
G. 18, 25. *Αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Φλάκκον ὑπὸ σωτόνου ποδάγρας ἀδύνατον ὄντα τῷ σώματι καὶ πραγμάτων ἄπειρον ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τὸ παράπαν ἐποιοῦντο.*	i. 9. Superior exercitus legatum Hordeonium Flaccum spernebat, senecta ac debilitate pedum invalidum, sine constantia, sine auctoritate.
G. 20, 26. *Ὀνάκις δὲ τὸν Γάλβαν εἰστία, τὴν παραφυλάττουσαν ἀεὶ στοῖραν ἑβδομήκοντα χρυσοῦν ἑκάστῳ διανέμων.*	i. 24. Ut per speciem convivii, quotiens Galba apud Othonem epularetur, cohorti excubias agenti viritim centenos nummos divideret.
G. 22, 34. *εἰς ὑπεξελθὼν σημαιοφόρος ἀπήγγειλε τῷ Οὐιτελλίῳ νυκτὸς ἑστιωμένῳ πολλῶν παρ' αὐτῷ.*	i. 56. Nocte ... in coloniam Agrippinensem aquilifer quartae legionis epulanti Vitellio nuntiat, etc.

λεται τὰ ὕποπτα δεῖξαι τοῖς πωληταῖς, ἀπῆλθε, καὶ διὰ τῆς Τιβερίου καλουμένης οἰκίας καταβὰς ἐβάδιζεν εἰς ἀγοράν, οὗ χρυσοῦς εἱστήκει κίων.

sibi praedia vetust pecta eoque prius e finxisset, ... per Ti domum in Velabrum miliarium aureum ...

G. 25, 3. Διὸ, καίπερ οὐ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος μαλακίαν καὶ θηλύτητα τῇ ψυχῇ διατεθρυμμένος.

i. 22. Non erat mollis et corpori sin mus.

G. 25, 16. Τῶν δὲ χιλιάρχων ὁ τὴν φυλακὴν ἔχων τοῦ στρατοπέδου Μαρτίαλις, ὥς φασι, μὴ συνειδὼς, ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ τῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ καὶ φοβηθεὶς ἐφῆκεν εἰσελθεῖν.

i. 28. Stationem i agebat Iulius Marti bunus. Is magnitudi sceleris ... praebuit p suspicionem conscient

G. 26, 5. καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἄφθη Ἰούλιος Ἀττικὸς τῶν οὐκ ἀσήμων ἐν τοῖς δορυφόροις στρατευόμενος ... βοῶν ἀνῃρηκέναι τὸν Καίσαρος πολέμιον ... ἔδειξε τῷ Γάλβᾳ τὸ ξίφος γεγαμμένον. Ὁ δὲ βλέψας πρὸς αὐτὸν "Τίς σε"

i. 35. Obvius in Iulius Atticus specula entum gladium ostent cisum a se Othonem e vit; et Galba "com inquit, "quis iussit?"

G. 27, 3. Ὁ δὲ τὴν σφαγὴν τρισὶν "Δρᾶτε" εἰπὼν "εἰ τοῦτο τῷ δήμῳ Ῥωμαίων ἄρεστόν ἐστι."

i. 41. Plures (prodidere) obtulisse ultro percussoribus iugulum: agerent ac ferirent, si ita e re publica videretur.

G. 27, 7. ἀπέσφαξε δὲ αὐτόν, ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι λέγουσι, Καμουρία τις ἐκ τοῦ πεντεκαιδεκάτου τάγματος. Ἔνιοι δὲ Τερέντιον, οἱ δὲ Λεκάνιον ἱστοροῦσιν, οἱ δὲ Φάβιον Φάβουλον.

i. 41. De percussore non satis constat: quidam Terentium evocatum, alii Lecanium, crebrior fama tradidit Camurium quintae decimae legionis militem, etc.

G. 27, 35. Εἴκοσι γοῦν καὶ ἑκατὸν εὑρέθησαν ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν γραμματίων, οὓς ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος ἀναζητήσας ἅπαντας ἀπέκτεινεν.

i. 44. Plures quam centum viginti libellos praemium exposcentium ob aliquam notabilem illa die operam Vitellius postea invenit, omnesque conquiri et interfici iussit.

G. 28, 1. Καὶ καθάπερ ἄλλοι γεγονότες ... συνελθόντες.

i. 45. Alium crederes senatum, alium populum.

G. 29, 4. πέντε αὐτοκρατόρων ἡγεμονίαις ἐμβιώσαντα μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης.

i. 49. Quinque principes prospera fortuna emensus.

O. 1, 5. Τοῦ δὲ Κέλσου μήτ' ἀγεννῶς ἀποκρυπτομένου μήτ' ἀναισθήτως, ἀλλὰ φήσαντος αὐτὸ τοῦ τρόπου ἀδόντος τὸ ἔγκλημα πίστιν, ἐγκεκλῆσθαι γὰρ ὅτι Γάλβᾳ βέβαιον ἑαυτὸν παρέσχεν.

i. 71. Celsus constanter servatae erga Galbam fidei crimen confessus exemplum ultro imputavit.

O. 1, 13. ὧν μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπατεύων χρόνων ἥμελλε, τούτου μέρος ἔνειμεν Οὐεργινίῳ Ῥούφῳ, τοῖς δὲ ἀποδεδειγμένοις ὑπὸ Νέρωνος ἢ Γάλβα τοῦτον ἐτήρησε

i. 77. Consul cum Titiano fratre in kalendas Martias ipse; proximos menses Verginio destinat ... ceteri consulatus ex destinatione Nero-

... impetrato Tigellini exi

O. 3, 36. Φοβούμενος γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτὸς ἦν φοβερὸς ἐκείνοις.

i. 81. Cum timeret timebatur.

O. 3, 46. Τότε μὲν οὖν ὀρθὸς ἀπὸ τῆς κλίνης πολλὰ παρηγορήσας.

i. 82. Donec Otho insistens precibus et la aegre cohibuit.

O. 4, 17. Ἀντέγραψε δὲ κἀκεῖνος αὐτῷ κατειρωνευόμενος ἡσυχῇ πρῶτον· ἐκ δὲ τούτου διεριθιζόμενοι πολλὰ βλάσφημα καὶ ἀσελγῆ χλευάζοντες ἀλλήλοις ἐγραφον, οὐ ψευδῶν μέν, ἀνοήτως δὲ καὶ γελοίως.

i. 74. Paria Vitellius tabat, primo mollius utrimque et indecora latione; mox quasi ri stupra et flagitia in obiectavere, neuter falso

O. 5, 6. Καταλέγων δὲ τῶν ν τέλει συνεκδήμους ἔταξεν ἐν τούτοις καὶ Δεύκιον τὸν Οὐιτελλίου ἀδελφὸν, οὔτε προσθεὶς οὐδὲν ὅτε ἀφελὼν ἧς εἶχε τιμῆς.

i. 88. Multos e mag tibus, magnam consula partem Otho non parti aut ministros bello, sed tum specie secum exp iubet, in quis et Lu Vitellium ... nec ut imp toris fratrem nec ut hosti

O. 7, 29. Ἐπεμψεν οὖν Τιτιανὸν ἐπὶ τὰ στρατεύματα τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ Πρόκλαν τὸν ἔπαρχον, ὃς εἶχεν ἔργῳ τὴν πᾶσαν ἀρχήν, πρόσχημα δὲ ἦν ὁ Τιτιανός. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κέλσον καὶ Παυλῖνον ἄλλως ἐφείλκυστο συμβούλων ὄνομα καὶ φίλων, ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι μηδεμίαν ἔχοντες.

ii. 39. Profecto Brixellum Othone honor imperii penes Titianum fratrem, vis ac potestas penes Proculum praefectum; Celsus et Paulinus, cum prudentia eorum nemo uteretur, inani nomine ducum alienae culpae praetendebantur.

O. 11, 3. προήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Πρόκλας ἐκ τοῦ Βητριακοῦ, καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἀπὸ πεντήκοντα σταδίων οὕτως ἀνείρων καὶ καταγελάστως, ὥστε, τῆς μὲν ὁδοῦ ἐμπίπλη οὔσης, τῶν δὲ ἑπόμενα πεδίων πολλὰ νάματα καὶ ποταμοὶ δεινὸν ἐχόντων ὕδατος σπάνιν πιέζεσθαι.

ii. 30. Promoveri ad quartum a Bedriaco castra placuit, adeo imperite ut quamquam verno tempore anni et tot circum amnibus penuria aquae fatigarentur.

O. 11, 23. Ὡπλισμένων δὲ ἤδη τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ τὸ σύνθημα παρελαμβανόντων παρὰ τοῦ Ὀθήλλωνος, ἐν ὅσῳ τὴν τάξιν διελάγχανε τὰ τάγματα, τοῦτ' ἀρίστου τῶν ἱππέων προεξέπεμψαν.

ii. 41. Caecina ... revectus in castra, datum iussu Fabii Valentis pugnae signum, et militem in armis invenit. Dum legiones de ordine agminis sortiuntur equites prorupere.

O. 12, 17. Μόναι δὲ δύο λεγεῶνες ... ἐπέλαχον ἡ μὲν Οὐιτελλίου Ἄραξ, ἡ δὲ Ὄθωνος Βοηθός, εἰς πεδίον ἐξελίξασαι φιλὸν καὶ ἀνατεταμένον νόμιμόν τινα μάχην συμπεσεῖσθαι φαλαγγηδὸν ἐμάχοντο πολὺν χρόνον.

ii. 43. Forte inter Padum viamque patenti campo duae legiones congressae sunt, pro Vitellio unaetvicesima, cui cognomen Rapaci, vetere gloria insignis, e parte Othonis prima Adiutrix non ante in

ω καὶ, παρεγγυῶμαί σοι τελευταῖον, μήτε ἐπιλαθέσθαι παντάπασι μήτε ἄγαν μνημονεύειν, ὅτι Καίσαρα θεῖον ἔσχες."

mo capesseret
patruum sibi Otho
aut oblivisceretur
aut nimium memin

O. 17, 1. Ἤδη δὲ ἑσπέρας οὔσης ἐδίψησε, καὶ πιὼν ὀλίγου ὕδατος, δυεῖν ὄντων αὐτῷ ξιφῶν, ἑκατέρου κατεμάρθανε τὸ σπάσμα πολὺν χρόνον, καὶ τὸ ἕτερον ἀπέδωκε, θάτερον δὲ εἰς τὰς ἀγκάλας ἀναλαβών,—

ii. 49. Vespera
sitim haustu geli
sedavit. Tum adl
onibus duobus, cum
pertemptasset, alter
subdidit.

O. 17, 5. Καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος διένεμε τῶν χρημάτων τῷ μὲν πλέον, τῷ δὲ ἔλαττον, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἀλλοτρίων ἀφειδῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν καὶ τὸ μέτριον ἐπιμελῶς φυλάττων.

ii. 48. Pecunias d
parce nec ut perituru

O. 18, 16. Οὐεργινίῳ δὲ Ῥούφῳ πράγματα παρεῖχον ἅμα τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ κατακαλοῦντες αὖθις καὶ κατακελεύοντες ἄρχειν ἢ ⁻οεσβεύειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.

ii. 51. Ad Verginiu
modo ut reciperet imp
nunc ut legatione apud
nam ac Valentem funge
minitantes orabant.

history for Greeks. (Conf. his remarks on Latin terms, ἣν καλάνδας Ἰανουαρίας καλοῦσι, *Galb.* 22, 12: οὕτω γὰρ καλοῦνται οἱ διαγγέλων καὶ διοπτήρων ὑπηρεσίας τελοῦντες, *Galb.* 24, 2: ἣν ἄγουσι Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸ δεκαοκτὼ καλανδῶν Φεβ., *Galb.* 24, 10: ἃ πριγκίπια καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, *Galb.* 12, 7: οὕτως γὰρ τὰ τάγματα Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι, *Oth.* 12, 16.) He makes no pretence at the composition of an original work, and he naturally uses the best or most accessible material which he has. On the other hand, Nipperdey only represents a not unnatural opinion when he repudiates with some indignation the idea that Tacitus has in many places borrowed both the words and the rhetorical style from one of his recent predecessors. But a little consideration will show that there is nothing after all very revolutionary in such a theory, nor is the value which properly belongs to Tacitus as an historian really diminished by it. Critical investigation into the sources of the ancient historians has shown beyond a question that, when they were dealing with times not within their own memory, they handled their authorities according to methods very different from those pursued in modern times. Not only materials, but the form in which these materials were worked up, were taken from predecessors usually without acknowledgment, and clearly without fear of any charge of plagiarism. In fact the literary value of a history according to ancient standards consisted much more in the mode of representation than in the facts represented. This is Cicero's view (*de Legg.* i. 2), and Pliny the Younger draws a marked

...y the originality of the *Histories* in spi
close resemblance to Plutarch, and inferen
common source. A comparison suggested
seems to me exactly apposite. **Tacitus is**
this authority as the sculptor to the sto
One prepares the statue in rough, the other
into a work of art, and stamps it with the
of his genius.

But further than this, Nipperdey asks,
other writings of Tacitus derived in a simi
from predecessors? It by no means follows th
were. It is certain that the later and unhapp
books of the *Histories* were not. To a certain
the historians of the first century seem to ha
tinued the works of their predecessors, taking
history where they left it. Thus Aufidius
stood in this relation to Livy, Pliny the E
Aufidius Bassus, Tacitus to Pliny, and much
time, Ammianus Marcellinus to Tacitus. So
he continuator may have taken up his pre
xactly at the point at

years of his predecessor's account, as Aufidius Bassus seems to have gone back to the beginning of Augustus, although Livy carried his history up to 9 B.C. And this is what Tacitus has done with Pliny. A comparison of *Agric.* cap. 3 with *Hist.* i. 1 shows that Tacitus' own contribution to history was to consist in the history of the reigns of Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan, which would be to continue the history from where Pliny left it, since we know that he carried it up to the reign of Vespasian and perhaps Titus. But instead of beginning it at that point, he prefers to go back to the beginning of the Flavian period, especially as "scriptores temporum, qui potiente rerum Flavia domo monimenta belli huiusce composuerunt, curam pacis et amorem rei publicae, corruptas in adulationem causas tradidere" (*Hist.* ii. 101). For this preliminary portion of his work, he did what the historians of his time usually did, *i.e.* he derived his facts from the best contemporary authority at his command, only leavening the original account with his own rhetorical style, his own philosophical views, and to a certain extent with his own political tendencies. Unfortunately what in the view of Tacitus was a mere introduction, and certainly of secondary importance to his main subject, is all that we have left, and the remembrance of this fact is the best answer to Nipperdey's objections.

It remains to discuss the question who was the common authority followed so closely by Plutarch and Tacitus. According to Josephus a number of

writers t[illegible]d of the events connected with Galba and Vindex (*Bell. Iud.* 4. 9. 2), but this is one of those vague statements to which we cannot assign much value, nor again can we infer much as to the number of writers from the passage of Tacitus quoted above, "scriptores tempo[illegible] qui potiente rerum Flavia domo composuerunt m[illegible]imenta huiusce belli." A scholion to Juvenal (ii. 9[illegible] mentions a certain Pompeius Planta who w[illegible] account of the war between Otho and Vitellius. But either this is a completely unknown individ[illegible] or it is the Pompeius Planta who was praefectus A[illegible]rpti at the beginning of Trajan's reign, and who would therefore be hardly more a contemporary of the war than Tacitus himself. The only other authorities of whom we know anything are Vipsanus Messala, quoted by Tacitus (iii. 25), Cluvius Rufus, referred to by Plutarch (*Oth.* 4) and cited by Tacitus in the *Annals*, and C. Plinius, cited by Tacitus (*Hist.* iii. 28). Messala may be dismissed at once. He was attached as tribune during the war to the VII. legion in Dalmatia, and probably wrote some sort of memoirs of the war, and it is only on a detail of the campaign that Tacitus refers to him. We are therefore, if we are to come to a decision at all, left to choose between Cluvius Rufus and C. Plinius. Mommsen has declared decisively in favour of the former. To judge of the matter we must collect what we know of him.

He was consul with P. Clodius (Orelli, 1168) at some time previous to 41 A.D., since in that year we

trustworthy history of the incidents of this period. He was a friend of Galba, being in fact his successor in Spain, accompanied the march of Vitellius, and was evidently mixed up with the leading events in the capital. But though he [illegible]ss wrote a history of the period, was it the [illegible]f which Plutarch and Tacitus made use? In r[illegible]ion the arguments of Nissen against [illegible]uppo[illegible]re entirely conclusive. As Cluvius Ru[illegible] neve[illegible]ioned as an authority by Tacitus in the [illegible]t from *a priori* probability. the only po[illegible]ient in his favour is the passage in Plutarch (*vit.* 4), who, after mentioning the fact that Otho allowed himself in the theatre to be called Nero Otho, adds "Κλούβιος δὲ Ῥοῦφος εἰς Ἰβηρίαν φησὶ κομισθῆναι διπλώματα . . . τὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος θετὸν ὄνομα προσγεγραμμένον ἔχοντα τῷ τοῦ Ὄθωνος." A little consideration will, I think, show that this passage furnishes a conclusive argument against Mommsen's theory. I lay no particular stress on what however is not without its weight, that, according to Peter's observation, Plutarch habitually avoids all reference by name to his main authority. But leaving that out of account, the name is evidently introduced here on Livy's principle—auctorem pro re posui—because the circumstance narrated seemed antecedently improbable, and the author refused to make himself responsible for it. But why should Plutarch feel hesitation about this statement in particular, whereas in apparently all the rest of his history he has been content to follow his authority without remark? Now, if we turn to Suetonius (*Oth.*

...than "auctoritas Cluvii praevalui
lastly, when it is said that he, like L. Arrunt
compelled to govern his province in his ab
implies no very high estimate of Cluvius' imp
to add, "eum Tiberius Caesar ob metum, V
Cluvium nulla formidine retinebat" (ii. 65).
it is quite impossible to suppose that Tacitu
following Cluvius Rufus in iii. 65 when he me
the interview between Vitellius and Flavius Sa
For, though Cluvius was one of the two witnes
the "verba vocesque," no account is given of what
place, only the impressions of distant by-stander
cited, and even the place of meeting is stated o
ground only of common report—"ut fama
Lastly, it appears from the mention of Cluvius I
in Pliny (*Ep.* ix. 19. 5) that he had not taken a
tirely favourable view of the conduct of Verg
Rufus. Verginius himself related to
sation he had had with Cluvius, who in
of apology for this:—"Scis, Vergini, quae hist
fides debeatur

Mommsen's view.[1] Thus by a method of residues we seem compelled to come to the conclusion that the *Histories* of C. Plinius, the author of the *Historia Naturalis*, were the source used by Plutarch and Tacitus. That Pliny wrote histories we know from his nephew (*Ep.* v. 8. 5), "avunculus meus idemque per adoptionem pater historias et quidem religiosissime scripsit." In his list of his uncle's works Pliny describes these histories as "a fine Aufidii Bassi, XXXI. libri" (*Ep.* iii. 5. 1), and we learn from the Preface to the *Natural History* that they were continued up to the reign of Vespasian—*N. H. Praef.* § 20, "nos quidem omnes patrem, te fratremque diximus opere justo temporum nostrorum historiam orsi a fine Aufidii Bassi." Aufidius Bassus probably left off at the end of Claudius, and certainly Pliny's history included Nero's reign—conf. *H. N.* ii. 199, "anno Neronis principis supremo sicut in rebus eius exposuimus," while he was certainly consulted by Tacitus in the *Annals* (xiii. 20, xv. 53) and also in the *Histories* (iii. 28). It is therefore certain that

[1] Mommsen rejects Nipperdey's emendation of 'decessu' for 'discessu' in Tac. iv. 39, "citeriorem Hispaniam ostentans discessu Cluvii Rufi vacuam," and he is probably right, for the death of Cluvius could hardly have passed without notice by Tacitus, and the passage in Pliny implies that Cluvius lived beyond the events of the war. There is, however, a certain difficulty in 'discessu,' for, as we learn from ii. 65, "non adempta Hispania quam rexit absens," so that Spain was not technically 'vacua' by the departure of Cluvius. Nor did a new emperor need any such excuse for sending a new governor.

Pliny, as well as Cluvius Rufus, wrote a history embracing this period, and also certain that he wrote it under Vespasian, so that Tacitus may be with some plausibility supposed to refer to him when he criticises the writers of the Flavian [illegible] (*Hist.* ii. 101). It is further certain that Tacitus [illegible] refer to him in the *Histories* (iii. 28). To this we may add, without assigning too great weight t[illegible]n, the following arguments adduced by Nissen: [illegible]e fact that both Pliny and Verginius Rufus were natives of Comum and also connected by a long standing friendship would lead us to expect from the former a eulogistic treatment of Verginius' conduct, and this in Plutarch's account we get. Further, Caecina was also a native of North Italy, and also during Vespasian's reign in a position of high honour. Both these facts would be motives which would naturally lead Pliny to take a more favourable view of Caecina than of Valens, who was a bitter enemy of Verginius whom he calumniated to Galba (Tac. *Hist.* i. 52, iii. 62). This too, to a certain extent, may be traced. Thus in reference to the defeat of the Vitellians near the temple of Castor, Plutarch mentions indeed the view that it was due to the selfish precipitancy of Caecina, but he prefers to attribute it to the slowness of Valens, whereas Tacitus, using his own judgment, puts it down without hesitation to Caecina. It is impossible, however, to attach much importance to these and a few similar coincidences which Nissen points out, since even their cumulative weight is not great. And beyond this it seems impossible to carry the discussion. On the

correspondence between Vitellius and Otho), Tac. ii. 48, with Plut. *Oth.* 17 (the last evening of Otho's life), and Tac. i. 72 with Plut. *Oth.* 2 (the death of Tigellinus). Mere personal anecdotes, like that about Canus (Plut. *Galb.* 16), expressive details like the mutilation of Galba's head (Plut. *Galb.* 27), and improbable statements like that of Cluvius Rufus about the Spanish diplomata, are all omitted in Tacitus, who indeed in one or two cases in his desire to be brief has left out essential points which Plutarch supplies (conf. Plut. *Galb.* 16 and *Oth.* 4 *ad fin.* and 10). But while Plutarch is probably a more faithful repeater of what his authority said, he is also much more inaccurate than Tacitus. Instances of this are (1) such an expression as τὸν Σερουΐων οἶκον (*Galb.* 3, 3); (2) the statement that Galba was related to Livia Augusta (*Galb.* 3, 7); (3) the mistake about Sempronius Densus, who, according to Plutarch, defended Galba, not Piso (*Galb.* 26); (4) the placing of the mutiny at Ostia instead of the Praetorian camp (*Oth.* 3); (5) the assertion that Cremona was in the possession of the Othonians instead of the Vitellians (*Oth.* 7); (6) the mention of Asiaticus as a freedman of Galba (*Galb.* 20); (7) the statement that the father of Piso was killed by Nero instead of Claudius (*Galb.* 23); (8) the incorrect definition of 'optio' and 'tesserarius' (*Galb.* 24, 2); besides a number of minor points, and one or two instances of mistranslation from the Latin (*Galb.* 23, 12 and *Oth.* 12, 24).

SUETONIUS AND DIO CASSIUS.

The aim of Suetonius was different from that either of Plutarch or Tacitus, being purely biographical, and accordingly we find a number of personal incidents about both Galba and Otho which are absent from the two other historians. A list of these it is not necessary to give here, but it is, I think, sufficiently clear that Suetonius used some other authorities in addition to the one followed by Plutarch and Tacitus. With this, however, we are not directly concerned, and it will be enough here to point out a few instances of close similarity between Suetonius and Plutarch, and Suetonius and Tacitus, as evidence that he used their authority as well.

PLUTARCH.	SUETONIUS.
Galb. 3, 4. αὐτὸν ἐφθόνει μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῇ Κάτλου συγγενείᾳ.	*Galb.* 2. pronepotem se Q. Catuli Capitolini semper adscripsit.
Galb. 5, 8. κατηγορήσας δὲ τοῦ Νέρωνος καὶ τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων ἀνδρῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους διαφορήσας.	*Galb.* 10. propositis ante se damnatorum occisorumque a Nerone quam plurimis imaginibus.
Galb. 5, 11. οὔτε Καῖσαρ οὐδ' αὐτοκράτωρ, στρατηγὸς δὲ συγκλήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἀναρρηθείς.	*Galb.* 10. consalutatusque imperator legatum se senatus ac populi Romani professus est.
Galb. 5, 15. Προσποιούμενος γὰρ ἐκεῖνον καταφρονεῖν καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ Γαλατῶν—	*Ner.* 40. de motu Galliarum . . . adeo lente ac secure tulit ut gaudentis etiam suspicionem praeberet.

Galb. 5, 17. ἅμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τὰ περὶ Γάλβαν ... ἀνέτρεψε τὴν τράπεζαν.

Ner. 47. literas prandenti sibi redditas concerpsit, mensam subvertit.

Galb. 7, 19. τῷ δ' ἀπελευθέρῳ δακτυλίους τε χρυσοῦς ἔδωκε καὶ Μαρκιανὸς ὁ Ἴκελος ἠδ[illegible] καλούμενος—

Galb. 14. libertus Icelus paullo ante anulis aureis et [illegible]ni cognomine ornatus.

Galb. 15, 26. σημεῖα τῷ τάγματι καὶ χώραν αἰτοῦντες.

Galb. 12. aquilam et signa pertinacius flagitantes.

Galb. 16, 3. The anecdote about Canus.

Galb. 12.

Galb. 16, 13. τοὺς πριαμένους παρ' αὐτῶν ἢ λαβόντας ὁτιοῦν ἀνεζήτει καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἐξέπραττε.

Galb. 15. si quid . . . donatum olim vendidissent, auferretur emptoribus.

Galb. 17, 21. ἐπεπλήχθη (ὁ δῆμος) διαγράμματι τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος.

Galb. 4. pro Tigellino etiam saevitiae populum edicto increpuit.

Galb. 19, 4. μὴ μόνον διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπαιδίαν καταφρονούμενος.

Galb. 17. despectui esse non tam senectam suam quam orbitatem ratus.

Galb. 19, 27. Ἐλθούσης δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ὡς γαμετῆς οὐκ ἠγάπα μετέχων, ἀλλ' ἠσχάλλε μεταδιδούς.

Oth. 3. adeo dilexit ut ne rivalem quidem Neronem aequo tulerit animo.

Galb. 23, 20. μηδὲ τότε δωρεᾶς αὐτοῖς δοθείσης.

Galb. 17. ne tunc quidem donativi ulla mentione facta.

Oth. 3, 3. τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς χαριζόμενος οὐκ ἔφευγε τὸ πρῶτον ... Νέρων προσαγορεύεσθαι ... Κλούβιος δὲ Ῥοῦφος εἰς Ἰβηρίαν φησὶ κομισθῆναι διπλώματα ...

Oth. 7. ab infima plebe appellatus Nero nullum indicium recusantis dedit: immo, ut quidam tradiderunt, etiam diplomatibus primisque epist-

τὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος θεατὴν ὄνομα προσγεγραμμένον ἔχοντα τῷ τοῦ Ὄθωνος.

ulis suis ad quosdam provinciarum praesides Neronis cognomen adiecit.

Of similar resemblances between Suetonius and Tacitus we may note the following:—

Tacitus.	Suetonius.
i. 24. de parte finium cum vicino ambigenti universum vicini agrum sua pecunia emptum dono dederit.	*Oth.* 4. Cuidam etiam de parte finium cum vicino litiganti totum agrum redemit emancipavitque.
i. 22. urgentibus etiam mathematicis, e quibus Ptolemaeus Othoni in Hispania comes cum superfuturum eum Neroni promisisset, postquam ex eventu fides, persuaserat fore ut in imperium adsciceretur.	*Oth.* 4. Spem cepit ex affirmatione Seleuci mathematici qui quum eum olim superstitem Neroni fore spopondisset, tunc ultro inopinatus advenerat, imperaturum quoque brevi repromittens.
i. 41. Extremam eius vocem, varie prodidere: alii suppliciter interrogasse quid mali meruisset, paucos dies exsolvendo donativo deprecatum; plures obtulisse ultro percussoribus iugulum: agerent ac ferirent, si ita e re publica videretur.	*Galb.* 20. Sunt qui tradunt proclamasse eum quid agitis, commilitones? ego vester sum et vos mei, donativum etiam pollicitum: plures autem prodiderunt obtulisse ultro iugulum et ut hoc agerent ac ferirent quando ita videretur hortatum.
i. 31. Germanica vexilla diu nutavere, invalidis adhuc corporibus et placatis animis, quod eos . . . longa navigatione aegros impensiore cura Galba refovebat.	*Galb.* 20. Omnes sprevisse nuntium excepta Germanicianorum vexillatione: hi ob recens meritum quod se aegros et invalidos magno opere fovisset, etc.

ii. 48. libellos epistulasque studio erga se aut in Vitellium contumeliis insignes abolet; pecunias distribuit parce nec ut perituras.

Oth 20. Quidquid deinde epistularum erat, ne cui periculo aut noxae apud victorem forent incremavit, divisit et pecunias domesticis ex copia praesenti.

With regard to Dio Cassius a very few words may suffice. Close resemblances to Plutarch in cases where Tacitus and Suetonius are silent are extremely few. The following perhaps deserves notice—

PLUTARCH.	DIO CASSIUS.
Galb 29. οὐχ ἑαυτῷ τὰ πράγματα λαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἑαυτὸν ὀλόμενος δίδοναι τοῖς πράγμασιν.	lxiv. 2. νομίζων οὐκ εἰληφέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δέδοσθαι ἑαυτόν.

There are, however, a number of very close resemblances between Suetonius and Dio Cassius which seem to show that whatever other authorities, and he certainly had others for this part of his history, the latter may have used, Suetonius was at any rate in his hands.

The general result of the foregoing inquiry may therefore be summarised thus. The authority used by Plutarch and Tacitus in his account of Galba and Otho was a writer of the Flavian period, who may with a good deal of probability be identified with Pliny the elder. The same authority was also used by Suetonius, who however supplemented it for the more personal and anecdotal parts of his *Lives* by some other sources perhaps not entirely literary, while

Dio Cassius employed Suetonius certainly and other authorities as well, among whom Tacitus and Plutarch may possibly be included.

THE REIGNS OF GALBA AND OTHO.

An important crisis in the history of the empire is reached in the failure of the Julio-Claudian line of emperors. Hitherto the position of the princeps had been, though not technically hereditary, still practically confined to the members of a single family,[1] and the election of the new emperor had taken place at Rome with a certain amount of constitutional form, not always quite independently of the wishes of the city soldiery, as the election of Claudius proves,[2] but still without violence or bloodshed, and certainly without the direct interference of the armies on the frontiers. In all these respects the death of Nero marks an epoch. Family dynasties after this time occur only at intervals and exceptionally; the praetorian cohorts frequently use the power afforded by their position at Rome, and above all the secret was discovered "posse principem alibi quam Romae fieri," a consequence of which was the frequent election of an emperor by one of the great frontier armies, a practice which was always liable to occasion, and

[1] Tac. *Hist.* i. 16, "sub Tiberio et Caio et Claudio unius familiae quasi hereditas fuimus."

[2] Suet. *Claud.* 10.

d actually b ng about, a civil war. In the ration of the empire too a change of spirit rather than of system dates from the same Under the first two emperors the administra- l been vigorous an anlike, but the which hereditary gove are liable came ngly in the insane C the feeble and Claudius, and the ill- l and ungovern- o. A reformation, how in all directions vith Vespasian, and mi ave begun with ad not intrigue and o ge overpowered l is continued without a break, in spite of uelties at Rome during the last years of n, for more than 100 years. The short period by Plutarch's *Lives of Galba and Otho* does true, display to us any of the better features w era: it is a period of disorder and transi- shows us the provincial legions conscious of ength, sensitively jealous of one another, and into civil war in support of their own candi- the imperial power. At Rome the govern- s absorbed in preparations for its own security, torians extorted constant indulgences, and them and the senate there was a mutual which paralysed all political action. Still od is interesting from the diversity of the s which present themselves, quite apart from settled state of things which was ultimately to m them. Not only do we get crowded into a year three short-lived emperors, but we abortive national rising in Gaul, two civil

ollowing one another in quick succession, and out on Italian soil, and a treasonable plot part of a praetorian praefect, while Spain, Germany, Africa, Illyricum, and the East are r less disturbed by and concerned in the events stormy year.

closing years of Nero's reign were increasingly l by unworthy extravagances on the one hand acts of savage or suspicious cruelty on the As Dio Cassius says,[1] virtue, wealth, and were in his eyes so many crimes, and their ors were never for a moment safe. If these s had been confined to Rome, the tyranny have lasted on indefinitely until some assassina- heme proved successful, but Nero seems to have ossessed by an increasing suspicion of his pro- governors.[2] In the East Corbulo had been the onspicuous figure, but on his return homewards he Armenian war he received and obeyed the or's command to put an end to his own life.[3] West Scribonius Rufus and Scribonius Proculus or some time been entrusted with the two Ger- provinces, but in 67 A.D. they were sent for by tyrant and shared the fate of Corbulo.[4] When governors of the three most powerful provinces a prey to the emperor's jealousy, there would turally be a feeling of insecurity and distrust mong the provincial governors generally. Galba,

[1] Dio Cass. 63. 17.
[2] Dio Cass. 63. 17.
[3] Plut. *Galb.* 3.
[4] *id.* ib.

as we know from Suetonius,[1] was afraid to take any active step in his province lest he should give offence, and no doubt he was only in the position of many others. This tension in the provinces was an acute danger to Nero's position; and though in the excitement of his musical triumphs in Greece he disregarded it, his freedman Helius, whom he had left in charge at Rome, was more observant. for he again and again urged Nero's return, and finally himself went to Greece to bring the emperor back. Meanwhile, however, the spark of disaffection was lighted in Gaul, where Iulius Vindex, legate of Gallia Lugdunensis, raised an army of the provincial militia and placed himself in open revolt against Nero. Gallia Lugdunensis was one of the unarmed provinces,[3] but nevertheless Vindex soon found himself at the head of a very considerable army;[4] the Arverni and Aedui joined him probably to a man; even the town of Vienna in Narbonensis declared against Nero, and almost certainly the rest of the Tres Galliae were more or less in accord with him. There can be little doubt that the designs of Vindex went further than the mere deposition of Nero. He was himself a Gaul by birth, being descended from a regal family in Aquitania,[5] though his father was a Roman senator, and the circumstances and previous events in Gaul were all such as to make the attempted assertion of

[1] Suet. *Galb.* 9. [2] Dio Cass. 63. 19. [3] Tac. *Hist.* i. 16.
[4] Plutarch, *Galb.* 4, puts it at 100,000 men.
[5] Dio Cass. 63. 22.

national independence neither unusual nor surprising. The Romanisation of the Tres Galliae was at this time very far from complete; the retention of the national pagi as the basis of organisation, as well as the powerful influences still exercised by Druidism, made the population peculiarly susceptible to anything like a national impulse; while the prosperity and wealth for which the country was almost proverbial[1] gave ground for self-confidence, and was at the same time a motive to the government for exactions in the way of heavy tribute which formed a distinct and constant grievance.[2] Already under Tiberius a national movement had been attempted among the Aedui and Treveri under the leadership of Florus and Sacrovir,[3] while the fear of a possible repetition of such an attempt was one of the motives of Claudius in the execution of Valerius Asiaticus.[4] But if the real aim of Vindex was, as seems most probable,[5] the assertion of Gallic independence, and possibly the establishment of a Gallic empire like that which was attempted in the rising of Civilis,[6] it was necessary at any rate for the initial stages of the movement that it should receive under one pretence or another some external support. Accordingly Vindex sent letters to

[1] Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* 2. 16. 4, "τί οὖν ὑμεῖς πλουσιώτεροι Γαλατῶν, ἰσχυρότεροι Γερμανῶν ... Ἕλλήνων συνετώτεροι ἐστε;"

[2] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 40; Dio Cass. 63. 22.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 41, 42, 46. [4] Tac. *Ann.* xi. 1.

[5] For Schiller's arguments in favour of this view see notes to *Galb.* cap. 4.

[6] Tac. *Hist.* iv. 17, 54, 55, 57.

a number of provincial governors inviting them to revolt from Nero, possibly suggesting to each that he should head the movement, and no doubt enumerating the grievances endured by the provinces under Nero. These letters, however, met with no favourable response, and indeed several of those to whom they were addressed took the opportunity of showing their fidelity to Nero by forwarding the communication to him.[1] Vindex, however, had already gone too far to retreat. The Gallic levies were already assembled, and he probably had special grounds for still hoping for support from one at least of the neighbouring governors. Servius Sulpicius Galba had been for eight years legate of Hispania Tarraconensis. Though his age seemed to exclude him from Nero's jealousy (he was now 73), yet his relations with the emperor had of late become strained. He had made no secret of his sympathy with the provincial population against the exactions of the imperial procurators;[2] he had been somewhat ostentatiously inactive for fear of offending Nero,[3] and it was even said that he had interrupted secret orders to the procurators for his own murder.[4] The first communication of Vindex, sent before any overt act had been committed, he had taken no notice of; but a second invitation, definitely offering him the empire, and bidding him place himself at the head of the Gallic troops, met with a more serious consideration.[5] While some of his friends

[1] Plut. *Galb.* 4. [2] *id. ib.* [3] Suet. *Galb.* 9.
[4] *id. ib.* [5] Plut. *Galb.* 4.

advised delay, Titus Vinius urged immediate acceptance of the offer, and a request from the legate of Aquitania for assistance against Vindex[1] made some decision unavoidable. A court for the purpose of granting manumissions had been fixed at Nova Carthago for April 2nd,[2] and on that occasion events were precipitated by the action of his soldiers and friends who saluted him as imperator. His troops, however, consisted of a single legion, and the value of Vindex' support was quite uncertain; and as never before had an emperor been proclaimed outside Rome, it was no wonder that Galba for the present shrank from the imperial title and the name of Caesar, though he marked clearly enough his defection from Nero and his alliance with Vindex by calling himself the legate of the senate and Roman people.[3]

Vindex was now able, or hoped to be able, to cloak his real designs under the pretence of substituting Galba, whose wealth, birth, and reputation were second to none of his contemporaries, for Nero; very much as Civilis afterwards used the name of Vespasian, as long as the state of affairs rendered necessary any concealment of his ulterior aims.[4] All really depended on the attitude which Verginius Rufus, legate of Upper Germany, might take up. He was in no way deceived as to the intentions of

[1] Suet. *Galb.* 9.

[2] The date is calculated by means of the statement by Dio Cassius that Galba reigned 9 months and 13 days.

[3] Plut. *Galb.* 5, and Suet. *Galb.* 10.

[4] Tac. *Hist.* iv. 21.

Vindex, and he at once collected his troops,[1] being reinforced by detachments from Lower Germany and also by the militia of the Lingones and Treveri who did not share the designs of the other Gallic tribes. His first object was to secure Vesontio, which from its position was an important p st, being situated at the junction of the roads from the Upper Rhine to the province of Belgica. This place, the capital of the Sequani, had declared for V dex,[2] and towards it both armies marched. Whether there was a personal interview between the two generals before the battle, as Dio Cassius states, is uncertain. At any rate both armies were eager for the battle which the leaders had not the power, even if they had had the wish, to postpone.[3] The result was what might have been expected. The Gallic levies were no match for the disciplined legions, and Vindex with 20,000 of his troops were left dead upon the field. This event placed both Verginius and Galba in an awkward position. The latter had lost the ally on the strength of whose assurances he had taken up his independent position, while the news which quickly arrived that Verginius had been urged by his troops to accept the empire himself threw him into the greatest alarm, and he withdrew to Clunia apparently with the object of quietly awaiting the result,[4] though he sent letters to Verginius suggesting some common action. To Verginius the offer caused hardly less embarrassment.

[1] Tac. *Hist.* i. 51, 53.
[2] Dio Cass. 63. 24.
[3] Plut. *Galb.* 6.
[4] Plut. *Galb.* 6.

Hitherto he had apparently acted in Nero's name, but his soldiers, elated at their victory and conscious of their strength, were determined to appoint their own emperor, and all that he could do was to declare that the matter must stand over for the decision of the senate.[1]

Meanwhile events at Rome freed the position from what seemed to be almost a dead-lock. The first news of Vindex' revolt had reached Nero at Naples on March 19.[2] At first he made light of the news, and even affected to regard it as a lucky means of replenishing his exchequer.[3] He, however, subsequently, on his return to Rome, put a price on the head of Vindex, and recalled certain troops to Rome which he had detached from their headquarters for a projected war

[1] Plut. *Galb.* 6. A different view of these events is taken by Mommsen, *Hermes* xiii. p. 90 foll., who considers that a serious attempt was made to return to a senatorial or republican government. This he thinks was the object of Vindex, and at first of Galba, while Vindex and Verginius had previous to the battle come to an agreement in the same sense, which was thwarted by the action of their troops who fought against their generals' wish. The essay is well worth reading, though the question cannot be discussed here. I have not followed this view, because it depends almost entirely on the account of Dio Cassius as seen in his epitomator Xiphilinus and Zonaras. Plutarch and Tacitus certainly favour Schiller's view, which is the one I have followed. For a discussion of the question see Schiller, *Gesch. der röm. Kaiserreichs unter Nero*, p. 261 foll.; Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, 1878, p. 506 foll.; *Herm.* xiii. 90 foll., xv. 620 foll., xvi. 147 foll.

[2] Suet. *Ner.* 40. [3] *id. ib.*, and Plut. *Galb.* 5.

against some of the Caspian tribes.[1] The tidings of Galba's proclamation by his troops was a much more serious blow. Nero seems completely to have lost his head. Wild schemes occurred to him of having all the provincial governors murdered, of a massacre of all the Gauls in Rome, of poisoning all the senators, setting fire to the city, and seeking refuge in Egypt.[2] Somewhat more serious acts were his assumption of the consulship,[3] the raising of a legion of marines,[4] and the appointment of Titianus and Rubrius Gallus as his generals.[5] By this time, however, in spite of Galba's supineness other provincial governors had joined him,[6] and it became known at Rome that the Upper German army had declared against Nero, though not for Galba. This last news, while it drove Nero to despair,[7] probably convinced the two praetorian praefects, Tigellinus and Nymphidius Sabinus, that Nero's star had fallen. Possibly not without their advice Nero fled from the palace and hid himself in the suburban residence of one of his freedmen;[8] while Nymphidius, persuading the praetorians that Nero had fled to Egypt[9] and at the same time promising an unprecedented donative in Galba's name, induced them to proclaim that general emperor. The senate, taken by surprise and anticipated in any designs they may have had for assuming the govern-

[1] Tac. *Hist.* i. 6, 9, 70.
[2] Suet. *Ner.* 43.
[3] Suet. *Ner.* 43.
[4] Tac. *Hist.* i. 6.
[5] Dio Cass. 63. 27.
[6] Plut. *Galb.* 6.
[7] Suet. *Ner.* 27.
[8] Suet. *Ner.* 48.
[9] Plut. *Galb.* 2.

ment themselves, acquiesced and proclaimed Nero a public enemy.[1] The news of this event and of Nero's ignominious end reached Galba in Spain within eight days,[2] and probably Verginius Rufus at about the same time. Galba hesitated no longer. He had already assembled a kind of provincial senate, established a body-guard of evocati for his own protection, and enrolled from the provincials a new legion (the VII. Galbiana, afterwards Gemina) as well as some auxiliary troops,[3] and he now formally assumed the title of Imperator and Caesar,[4] and made immediate preparations for marching to Rome. His principal advisers were T. Vinius, his legate; M. Otho, the legate of Lusitania, who had been the first to join his standard;[5] Cornelius Laco, whom he named a praetorian praefect; and Icelus, the freedman who had brought the news of Nero's death. Nowhere had he any reason to expect serious resistance to his authority. Verginius Rufus, who had hitherto caused him the greatest anxiety, remained true to his own declarations, and, though not without considerable difficulty, induced his legions to acquiesce in the senate's decision and to take the oath to Galba.[6] Only in Africa were there symptoms of disorder. Here Clodius Macer, the legate of the army, had been urged by Nero to create a diversion against Galba,[7] and he had done so, though not to Nero's advantage, for under the pretence of estab-

[1] Suet. *Ner.* 49. [2] Plut. *Galb.* 7.
[3] Suet. *Galb.* 10. [4] Suet. *Galb.* 11.
[5] Plut. *Galb.* 20. [6] Plut. *Galb.* 10. [7] Tac. *Hist.* i. 73.

lishing again the republic[1] he was really setting himself up as emperor. But the course of plunder and rapine in which he indulged soon made it apparent that he was hardly a serious rival,[2] and Galba found no difficulty in getting rid of him and his claims by the agency of Garutianus, a procurator.[3]

But while no active opposition was offered, there was little enthusiasm in Galba's favour, and it was perhaps in order to bind some portion of the empire at least to himself that in rewarding those to whom he owed his promotion, he associated with the Spanish provinces[4] those states of Gaul which had identified themselves with Vindex. That he could still have remained blind to the real meaning of that rising is almost impossible, but he probably chose to close his eyes to all but Vindex's invitation to himself, and so he rewarded the Sequani and Aedui with the remission of a fourth part of their tribute and with the Roman citizenship.[5] Whatever may have been the motive of this act, and whether it was really the act of Galba, or, as some believed, a job on the part of Vinius,[6] it was hardly politic. If it bound these states to him, it still further alienated the German legions whose service in defeating Vindex was thus worse than ignored. But Galba went even further. The hesitation of Verginius and the reluctance of his legions

[1] So he gave himself the old republican title of propraetore Africae, and formed a new legion which he called I. Macriana Liberatrix.

[2] Plut. *Galb.* 6. [3] Plut. *Galb.* 15. [4] Suet. *Galb.* 11.
[5] Tac. *Hist.* i. 51. [6] Plut. *Galb.* 18.

were well known to Galba through the communications of Fabius Valens,[1] and he lost no time in recalling Verginius and putting in his place Hordeonius Flaccus,[2] who as an old man and an invalid he thought was likely to excite no enthusiasm on the part of his troops. Besides this he punished the Lingones and Treveri,[3] who had acted throughout with Verginius, with loss of territory, and Lugdunum, which had all along remained faithful to Nero, with sequestration of its revenues.[4] When we add to these acts the execution of Fonteius Capito, legate of Lower Germany, which, if not ordered by Galba, was at any rate approved by him,[5] it will be seen that even before he had left his own province he had done much to earn the reputation for strictness and cruelty which preceded him to the capital.[6]

The events which were meanwhile happening there were not calculated to make him more lenient. Nymphidius Sabinus, after Nero's death, found himself, by means of the praetorian cohorts, the most powerful personage in Rome. Tigellinus, his colleague in the praefecture, he got rid of;[7] and though the senate was nominally carrying on the government, Nymphidius contrived to exercise, partly by flattery, partly by intrigue, partly through the force which backed him, a paramount influence over their proceedings.[8] But his aims went further than this. He had originally no

[1] Tac. *Hist.* i. 52. [2] Plut. *Galb.* 10. [3] Tac. *Hist.* i. 53.
[4] Tac. *Hist.* i. 65. [5] Tac. *Hist.* i. 7. [6] Suet. *Galb.* 11.
[7] Plut. *Galb.* 8. [8] *id. ib.*

doubt hoped to play Sejanus to Galba's Tiberius, but he had not calculated on the influence of Galba's friends in Spain, and the rejection of his demands first for the sole praefecture of the praetorians, and then for the dismissal of Vinius and Laco,[1] drove him to more decisive measures, and he meditated the assumption of the imperial position himself.[2] But he had miscalculated on the devotion of the praetorians to himself. The exhortation of one of the tribunes, Antonius Onomastus, not to desert Galba for an upstart like Nymphidius, had an immediate effect; and when Nymphidius presented himself at the camp to deliver an harangue, specially written for him by Cingonius Varro, one of his senatorial supporters, he was received with acclamations for Galba and presently killed.[3]

Meanwhile Galba was approaching the city escorted by the new Spanish legion which he had himself enrolled.[4] At Narbo he was met by a deputation of the senate, whom he received with courtesy and regard,[5] but it was already becoming evident that the new emperor was almost entirely under the control of Vinius, Laco, and Icelus, the three paedagogi, as Suetonius calls them;[6] while M. Otho, who seems from the first to have cherished ambitious hopes, was craftily ingratiating himself both with Galba and Vinius. That severity should be shown to those who had aided Nymphidius in his treasonable attempt was

[1] Plut. *Galb.* 13. [2] *id. ib.* 14. [3] *id. ib.* 14.
[4] Tac. *Hist.* i. 6. [5] Plut. *Galb.* 11. [6] Suet. *Galb.* 14.

etorians much predisposed in favour of
eror who nac haughtily declared that it was
it to levy soldiers, not to buy them.[1] In
ace with this maxim the donative was not
id indeed Galba found himself at once in
ies from the emptiness of the treasury.
tlessly and probably imm diately after his
he had remitted one of the regular taxes,[2]
as now, in order to carry on the government,
y to have recourse to extraordinary means.
ere not well chosen, and served to confirm
utation for meanness and avarice which he
ady gained. Immense sums had been squan-
y Nero on his favourites and courtiers and
y on musicians and other artists. These
etermined to recover, leaving to each receiver
part of his spoil. But as the extravagant
these men had left little or nothing of their
, he went further still and ordered all the
perty to be claimed from those who had re-
t from those reckless spendthrifts.[3] The
this was wide-spread bankruptcy and distress
no means proportionate gain to the treasury.
nore dignified, though less widely unpopular,
institution of an inquiry into gifts made to
ous temple treasuries, and the appropriation
ver rested on an insecure title.[4] But while

[1] *Galb.* 18.
[2] Coins with the legend "quadragesima remissa," *Galb.* 138, 139, 198-200, etc.
[3] *Galb.* 16 and Tac. *Hist.* i. 20. [4] Tac. *Agric.* 6.

Galba was thus injudiciously niggardly with regard to the donative, and mean in his other financial measures, it was an open secret that his three favourites were quickly laying by huge fortunes, by a shameless traffic in offices, privileges, and immunities of all kinds.[1] It was, no doubt, an exageration, but sufficiently true to be telling, when Otho declared that in seven months Icelus had amassed as much as Polyclitus or Vatinius had coveted.[2] Even in his most popular acts Galba seemed fated to give offence. None of the creatures of the Neronian régime were so hated as the rapacious ministers to his vices and luxury. Nymphidius had won a momentary popularity by offering up some of them to the popular fury,[3] and Galba performed an act no less just than politic when he executed Helius, Polyclitus, Petinus, and Patrobius.[4] But this was far from satisfying the populace, whose vengeance could never be complete as long as the hated Tigellinus lived.[5] That worthy personage, however, had taken the best means to secure the protection of Vinius, and so completely was Galba in his favourite's power that he was induced to rebuke the revengeful spirit of the people who wished, forsooth, to make his reign tyrannical by the death of a sick old man.[6]

It was thus amid growing unpopularity among all classes, civil and military, that the year 69 A.D. began,

[1] Plut. *Galb.* 16, Tac. *Hist.* i. 33, Suet. *Galb.* 15, Dio Cass. 64. 2.
[2] Tac. *Hist.* i. 37. [3] Plut. *Galb.* 8. [4] *id. ib.* 17.
[5] *id. ib.* [6] *id. ib.*

a year which was to see the death of three emperors, and two civil conflicts fought out in Italy. The first act of this tragedy opens among the legions of Germany. In Upper Germany the soldiers were still smarting under the recall of Vergi their services to the empire against Vindex were verlooked, while the Gauls whom they had ered could point to rewards and honours.[1] T nscontent was fomented by the Lingones and Treve whose punishment by Galba was an insult to the le ons with whom they had served. To check these mutinous inclinations, which Caecina, the legate of one of the legions, with all the spite of a detected swindler, did his best to foment,[2] Hordeonius Flaccus was little qualified. Galba had intended him to be a nonentity and a nonentity he proved, remaining throughout the disturbances which followed the helpless spectator of events which he could not control.[3] Besides the actual grievances of the troops various unfounded rumours got abroad: it was whispered that Galba intended to decimate the legions,[4] to cashier the bravest of the centurions; while some legates of the Lingones, who had done much to foment the disorder and had been sent away by Hordeonius in the night, were believed by many to have been assassinated.[5] The result was a secret understanding among the legions, and when on January 1st they were required to take the usual oath of fidelity to the emperor, they

[1] Tac. *Hist.* i. 53. [2] *id. ib.* [3] Tac. *Hist.* i. 56.
[4] *id. ib.* 51. [5] *id. ib.* 57.

threw down his effigy from the standards, and insisted on taking the oath to the senate and Roman people.[1] In the army of Lower Germany they went further still. Fonteius Capito had been succeeded by Aulus Vitellius, a man with little force of character, but with a careless bonhomie which made him popular with soldiers, and deriving prestige from the three consulships and censorship of his father.[2] Reaching his province at the end of November, he at once ingratiated himself with his troops by various indulgences. From the first he overstepped the limits of a legate's authority,[3] and the artifices of Fabius Valens, legate of the 1st legion, paved the way for more decisive steps. This officer, who had been the first to take the oath in the German army to Galba, now instigated by various representations the sluggish Vitellius to covet if not to hope for the imperial position.[4] On the 1st of January the oath was taken to Galba with marked reluctance and not without insult to the emperor's effigy.[5] On the night of the following day news arrived from the upper army that the oath to Galba had been refused. But still no successor had yet been openly suggested, though, according to Plutarch, already the attention of the upper army had been drawn to Vitellius.[6] The decisive step was now taken by Valens, who formally proclaimed him at Colonia Agrippinensis. The example was followed by the other legions of the

[1] Tac. *Hist.* 55. [2] *id. ib.* 52. [3] *id. ib.*
[4] *id. ib.* 53. [5] *id. ib.* 55. [6] Plut. *Galb.* 22.

vince, then by those of Upper Germany, then by Treveri and Lingones.[1] The example set by the nish legion was thus followed by the German ps, who, disappointed of their first hopes in ginius were sure to find and to accept some more ing candidate for the pos ı they claimed to er.[2]

he first rumour of disturbances in the German ies, though no definite news had as yet been ived about the proclamation f Vitellius, coming hey did in addition to his domestic troubles, ded Galba to accomplish at once what he had some time meditated, the adoption of an heir to empire.[3] Augustus had on more than one occa- provided for the future by this means, though ıad never looked beyond the members of his own ily.[4] Galba had now a wider field to select from, it was essential that the heir and colleague of his ce should unite youth and vigour with an unsullied ıtation, popular manners, and the qualities which ɜal to and command respect in soldiers. No ɒt the right man was difficult to find, though lidates were not wanting. This was the oppor- ty which Otho had from the first been looking ard to. He was popular with the praetorians, whom he seemed the representative of Nero's ılgent régime; he had ingratiated himself with ɔrs of all kinds, he was the candidate favoured

[1] Tac. *Hist.* i. 57.
[2] Tac. *Hist.* i. 53.
[3] *id. ib.* 12.
[4] *id. ib.* 15.

by T. Vinius,[1] and he had with promptitude and liberality supported Galba's cause at a time when others still held back.[2] But Galba, weak as he was, was conscientious in his desire to do what was best for the empire.[3] Otho's antecedents were not good: he had shared Nero's orgies, though not perhaps his cruelties, and he was loaded with debt, and besides he was vain, unprincipled, and without self-restraint. No one in his senses would have made him heir even to a private estate which needed economy and care, and therefore in spite of his influential supporters Galba looked elsewhere. Cornelius Dolabella, a distant relative of the emperor's and a man of noble family, was supported by some,[4] but he was unpopular with the praetorians, and perhaps not altogether agreeable to Galba himself. The actual choice, though probably Galba's own mind was made up before, was the result of a sort of cabinet council at which Vinius, Laco, Marius Celsus, and Ducenius Geminus, praefect of the city, were present,[5] and it fell upon Piso Licinianus, a young man of noble ancestry and exalted character, many members of whose family had fallen victims either to Claudius or Nero, and who had himself only recently returned from exile. There can be no doubt that Galba's intentions in choosing Piso were excellent, but nevertheless the choice was neither judicious nor fortunate. Piso was more a Stoic philosopher than a practical statesman.

[1] Tac. *Hist.* 13. [2] Plut. *Galb.* 20. [3] *id. ib.* 21.
[4] *id. ib.* 23 [5] Tac. *Hist.* i. 14.

With him virtue was austerity; he had no military experience and was utterly unknown to the legions, while the praetorians more than suspected that he shared Galba's views about a donative. Some concession even now st point might have postponed the crisis, ne was made.[1] The adoption was publicly ced in the praetorian camp, but the coldness ilence with which it was received were signs ore ominous than the thunder and lightning amid ich it was performed.[2] This was on the 10th January, and the reign was destined to last but six days longer. Otho had in effect staked everything on his hopes of being appointed Galba's successor. He had given up his provincial appointment and returned to Rome, where innumerable creditors were only forbearing while they waited to see what course his fortunes would take. If he acquiesced in his defeat everything was lost.[3] Galba clearly did not trust him, Piso would almost certainly regard him as a rival. On the other hand Galba had taken a false step, Piso was agreeable to no order and no party. Astrologers encouraged Otho still to hope for the empire; crowds of discontented and disappointed men were ready to join him, and above all he had reason to believe that the praetorians would stand by him.

But if anything was to be done it must be done at once, before Piso's authority had begun to take root. Now the arts by which Otho had laboured to win

[1] Plut. *Galb.* 23. [2] *id. ib.* [3] Suet. *Oth.* 5.

popularity among the soldiers[1] bore opportune fruit. Several of the praetorian cohorts had already received money presents from Otho under pretence of a compliment to Galba,[2] and his agent and freedman Onomastus made no doubt that he could organise a movement among the corps. As his instrument for working upon the rest he chose Barbius Proculus, a *tesserarius*, and Veturius, an *optio*,[3] both belonging to the *speculatores* or mounted division of the praetorians. Humble as they were however, these two undertook and accomplished the transference of the empire. The necessary preparations were made without exciting the suspicions of Laco, while Otho himself remained in the background. On the morning of the 15th all was ready, and Otho was hastily summoned, while attending Galba at a sacrifice, to meet his supporters. Excusing himself on the ground that he had to view a house which he intended to buy, he hastened to the forum, where twenty-three speculatores saluted him emperor. Otho's courage almost gave way at the fewness of his supporters, but he was hurried off in a litter to the praetorian camp, and there acknowledged by the soldiers.

Meanwhile vague reports of a disturbance reached Galba who was still engaged in the sacrifice,[4] and it was deemed advisable to send Piso to the palace in order to secure if possible the cohort on guard there. Marius Celsus was sent on a similar errand to the Illyrian detachment in the Porticus Vipsania. He

[1] Tac. *Hist.* i. 23. [2] *id. ib.* [3] *id ib.* 25. [4] *id. ib.* 29.

Galba himself was collected a little ban
and freedmen who drew their swords a
to defend their master,[2] while the crowd
filled the Palatium demanded with shout
of Otho, whom in another hour they wou
emperor. Contrary to the advice of Vi
determined to proceed to the forum.[3] On
was met by a report of Otho's death, an
soldier who had killed him was introd
streaming sword. "Who gave you y
fellow-soldier?" was all the recognition h
deed gained from Galba, who thus wort
tained his ideas of discipline to the last.[4]
the forum, Galba soon learned the truth
turned from a fruitless attempt to enter
Marius Celsus brought word of his failur
Illyrian soldiers, and already the horseme
were seen coming through the Basilica P
Galba's litter was hustled hither and thit
crowd as it hurried to secure good posi

leave of absence and all other military while to compensate the centurions an was to be paid from the fiscus.[2] Furth the praetorians were allowed to select praefects, Plotius Firmus and Licinius P even the praefect of the city. For this they showed their regard for Nero's selecting Flavius Sabinus who had held th that emperor.[3] On the other hand, tc Otho showed respect and consideration. ment was inflicted on Galba's supporters openly taken into favour;[4] the consulshi in advance by Nero or Galba were with; the special honour of succeeding himself was accorded to Verginius] honours of a priesthood or an augursh ferred on a number of senators who through the ordinary career, whilst sim as well as the restoration of their forme granted to those who had been exiled

at least they disposed the senate to see in Otho qualities which they had not suspected.[1] The populace he was able to gratify by the long deserved and hoped for punishment of Tigellinus, who met his death, as unworthily as he had lived, at Sinuessa. The title of Nero Otho, which he had half accepted to please the populace, he judiciously abandoned out of deference to the senate.[2] Nor were his favours confined to Rome. Hispalis in Baetica and Emerita in Lusitania were strengthened by the addition of new families, the Lingones received compensation for the wrongs done to them by Galba by the gift of the Roman franchise: Baetica received the revenues of a number of Mauretanian towns, while Cappadocia and Africa were conciliated by certain privileges, which were perhaps more valuable in appearance than reality.[3] But notwithstanding all these precautions, a chance incident showed how little at his disposal were the forces which had raised him to power. Wishing probably to increase the number of praetorian cohorts, he had sent for one of the urban cohorts, hitherto stationed at Ostia, to the capital, and charged one of the praetorian tribunes with the duty of arming the corps with its new equipment. To prevent disorder this was done at night, but the soldiers, seeing the armoury opened, immediately suspected some treachery of the senate against Otho, and, listening to no explanation, they killed the tribune and some centurions, and then rushed off to

[1] Plut. *Oth.* 1. [2] Plut. *Oth.* 3. [3] Tac. *Hist.* i. 78.

the palace, demanding vengeance on Otho's enemies. Otho at the time was entertaining a large number of senators and their wives, and it was with difficulty that he hurried them off before the angry soldiers forced their way into his presence. The end of the incident was hardly [illegible] assert Otho's authority or to reassure the se[illegible] hile two insignificant soldiers were selected for [illegible] shment, the rest were rewarded for their zeal [illegible] a present of 5000 sesterces.[1]

The state of uncertainty [illegible] suspense in the city passed all description. Run[illegible]rs of all sorts about the movements and prospects of Vitellius drove the senate almost to distraction. Placed as they were in Otho's power, they had to flatter him, and to flatter one who had himself been the adroitest flatterer of his time was itself no easy task.[2] The readiest plan was to abuse Vitellius, but this was not without its dangers, as no one knew how soon Vitellius might not be in Rome as emperor. To add to the desperation of their position, the streets were infested with disorderly soldiers, with whom noble birth or wealth or reputation were so many motives for outrage. For the superstitious omens were not wanting, while an extraordinary overflow of the Tiber caused widespread distress by destroying quantities of corn in the river-docks,[3] and Otho found even his line of march obstructed by the flood.

[1] Tac. *Hist.* i. 80-82; Plut. *Oth.* 3. [2] Tac. *Hist.* i. 85.

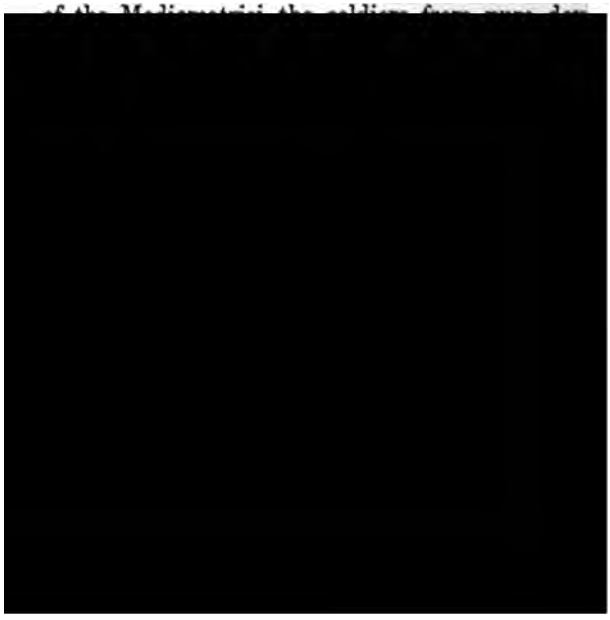
[3] Tac. *Hist.* i. 86; Plut. *Oth.* 4.

Indeed Otho's position was as difficult as can be imagined. Every action of his short and troubled reign had reference to the impending struggle with the German legions. The misfortune was that while he sought to conciliate irreconcilable elements at home, he left until it was too late all active measures against his rival. Vitellius on the contrary, though sluggish himself, had in Valens and Caecina two active and capable lieutenants, whose whole interest lay for the present in furthering his cause. The ardour of the soldiers however needed no stimulus, nor were the Agrippinenses, the Treveri, and the Lingones behind them. Volunteers came in from every side, and those who could not serve themselves contributed money, or provided horses or arms.[1] All felt that the prestige of the German legions was at stake, and that their claim to appoint an imperator must not a second time be disappointed.

The first step was to make sure of the neighbouring provinces, in order that no diversion might be made from the rear. Of the Gallic provinces, Belgica and Lugdunensis came over at once, and with the latter a legion (the I. Italica) and a troop of cavalry stationed for the time at Lugdunum.[2] Raetia too was ready to add its cohorts to the Vitellian army; and, more important than all, the British legions acquiesced in the choice of their German comrades.[3] Strengthened by these adhesions Vitellius allowed his lieutenants to begin the march to Italy, while he remained behind

[1] Tac. *Hist.* i. 57. [2] *id. ib.* i. 59. [3] *id. ib.*

for the present to collect recruits and to keep watchful eye on the Rhine frontier, which it w dangerous altogether to denude of troops. Vale with the greater part of the fifth legion and deta ments from the other legions and cohorts of Lov Germany, had 40,000 men. With these he was proceed by way of the Gallic provinces and to er into Italy by the Cottian Alps. Caecina with a sor what smaller force from the upper army, amount to 30,000 men, of whom the XXI. Rapax formed flower of his troops, was to proceed by a more dir route over the Pennine Alps.[1] The march of Val was slow and marked both by insubordination on part of the soldiers, and by greed and rapacity that of the general. At Divodurum, the chief to



had been the headquarters of the national p
in the rising of Vindex. To excite the anger
covetousness of the soldiers was no difficult task,
it was only by the payment of a huge bribe to Va
that the city was saved from being sacked.[1] Nor
this the only instance in which safety was bough
presents to the general, who had actually given
order to fire the capital of the Vocontii, when
payment demanded was made.[2] It was thus a
cruelty, extortion, and disorder that this part of
army reached the Alps. Meanwhile the march
Caecina had been quicker, but even more cruel.
quarrel with the Helvetii, caused by the unscrupul
avarice of the legionaries, gave rise to a short
disastrous contest between the army and the l
militia. The latter, especially as they were attac
in the rear by the Raetian auxiliaries, were of co
routed, and while numbers were butchered by t
conquerors the fate of their capital Aventicum
reserved for the decision of Vitellius himself, who
with the greatest difficulty prevailed upon to spare
Caecina had some thought of turning aside to se
Noricum, which was reported to be faithful to O
but news which he received from Italy, and poss
the desire to anticipate Valens, decided him at
to cross the Alps. He did this under favour
auspices, as an important cavalry squadron (the
Siliana) which had formerly served under Vitelliu
Africa had taken the opportunity to do a servic

[1] Tac. *Hist.* i. 65-66. [2] *id. ib.* 66. [3] *id. ib.* 67.

ing him large sums of money and some
luxurious retreat on condition of his resi
claims to the empire. Whether he went o
gest that they should rule as joint-emperor
certain, but at any rate the correspondence
begun with civility ended in undignified a
mutual insults and accusations were bandie
fro, of which all that could be said was
were equally true on both sides.[8] Attemp
over, were made by both to tamper with th
of the troops by the secret despatch of en
this met with no better success, and only the
to arms remained. Formidable as were the
which Vitellius could rely, the prospects of C
by no means desperate. He had not, it is
his immediate disposal an army equal to th
men whom Valens and Caecina were lead
Italy. In Rome he had the 12,000 praetorian
the legio I. Adiutrix formed from the mar
detachments from the German and Pannonia

news had already arrived that the legions of Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Moesia had sworn allegiance to Otho, while the four legions (VII. Galbiana, XI., XIII., and XIV.) posted in the two former provinces had sent forward detachments of 2,000 men each.[1] If only the main body of the Illyrian legions should arrive in time, Otho might well hope to meet successfully the German armies. From a greater distance tidings arrived that the Syrian and Judaean legions had also accepted Otho as emperor, while Egypt and all the other oriental provinces took the same side, and Africa, glad to have been freed from the rapacity of Clodius Macer, accepted first Galba and then Otho without hesitation. In fact, all the distant and transmarine provinces, actuated principally no doubt by the fact that Otho had Italy, the city of Rome, and the senate on his side, maintained their loyalty to him and looked upon Vitellius as a usurper.[2] On the other hand the nearer provinces and all those within easy reach of the German legions either from fear or good will supported Vitellius. Britain, Belgica, and Lugdunensis, as we have seen, at once gave their adhesion. Spain under Cluvius Rufus, and Aquitania under Iulius Cordus at first declared for Otho, but more prudent considerations prevailed, and both changed sides,[3] while Gallia Narbonensis, an unarmed province, had no choice but to join the nearer and so the more dangerous of the two pretenders.

Meanwhile an occurrence in Moesia, while it showed

[1] Tac. *Hist.* ii. 11. [2] *id. ib.* i. 76. [3] *id. ib.*

precautions neglected, poured into
Moesia, but while intent on booty a
resistance they were attacked and a
by the third legion, a useful service
Aponius, the legate of Moesia, bu
ordinary times would hardly have be
a triumphal statue.[1] By the time th
settled other matters, was ready to l
the passes of the Alps were alreac
Valens and Caecina, and it was too
their entry into Italy. Otho therefor
cause a diversion by an attack on Galli
For this purpose he made use of the fle
manned not only by the classiarii but
urban cohorts and some of the pra
command of the expedition was given
pilares and a tribune, of whom Suediu
the real authority. But he had no ide
and was rashly eager for fighting. As
northward the coast of Italy was tre
ground, incursions

in the field and fled to their town Albintimilium which was sacked by the Othonians, whose great aim was gain and plunder. Meanwhile news had reached Valens of the meditated attack on Narbonensis, and he detached to meet it two Tungrian cohorts, several squadrons of cavalry, and a whole cavalry regiment (*ala*) of the Treveri. Part of these forces remained at Forumiulii to watch the fleet, while the rest, reinforced by a cohort of Ligurians, proceeded against the enemy by land. The two armies met near the coast in the province of the Maritime Alps, and as the fleet was able to co-operate with the land force, the Othonians were victorious both in the first battle and also in an attempted surprise on the part of the Vitellians. The result, however, was not very decisive, as both parties retreated, the Vitellians to Antipolis in Narbonensis, the Othonians to Albingaunum in Liguria. Even Corsica and Sardinia were not free from the turmoil of the contending factions. These provinces, exposed to the ravages of the fleet and well out of reach of the German legions, had espoused Otho's cause, but a rash procurator, Decumus Pacarius, made an attempt by raising the local militia of Corsica to bring about a revolution in favour of Vitellius. The attempt failed, though beyond the death of Pacarius no serious consequences followed, as the more important events in Italy caused this petty disturbance to be overlooked.[1]

[1] Tac. *Hist.* ii. 12-16.

Before leaving Rome Otho, in deference to t
wish of the jealous praetorians, ordered Corneli
Dolabella, once a candidate for Galba's adoption, in
a sort of semi-custody at Aquinum.[1] At the sa
time, to make sure of the nobles and senate, he co
pelled a number of magistrates and consulars
accompany him on his march, in appearance as
visers, in reality as hostages for the security of t
city. This was, however, by no means guaranteed
the removal of leading men, for the results of a
so near at hand were already beginning to be felt
the people in the shape of rising prices and scarc
of money,[2] and a mob so situated can never be
pended upon. However, Otho had no alterna
but to leave the city to itself. Delay in sim
circumstances had already been fatal to Nero,

humour the praetorians, he was more ready to listen to the inexperienced praefect Licinius Proculus than to his senatorial commanders.[1]

Already, as we have seen, Caecina had crossed the Alps; the ala Siliana had brought over several important towns in North Italy, and in spite of some resistance, perhaps on the part of an Othonian cohort of Pannonians which was afterwards captured at Cremona, practically the whole of Italy between the Alps and the Po was in the hands of the Vitellians.[2] Communications, however, still seem to have remained open with the Danubian provinces by the roads in the north-east of Italy, through Ateste and Patavium to Aquileia, and perhaps by way of Vicetia and Verona. To maintain this communication in view of the expected reinforcements from Illyricum and also to defend the line of the Po was therefore the first and essential step to be taken. For this purpose Spurinna and Gallus were sent forward with a part of the forces,[3] while Otho himself accompanied the main body, which marched more slowly. Spurinna threw himself into Placentia which was already threatened by Caecina.[4] The Othonian general who had only three praetorian cohorts and 1,000 legionaries resolved to await Caecina's attack within the walls, but his soldiers were eager for battle and only too ready to ascribe every action of their general to treachery against Otho, and it was only with the

[1] Tac. *Hist.* i. 87.
[2] *id. ib.* ii. 17.
[3] Tac. *Hist.* ii. 11.
[4] *id. ib.* ii. 18.

greatest difficulty and at no small risk that he w
able to lead back into the city his impatient b
untrustworthy soldiers. The result fully justified l
prudence. A severe assault was made by the Vit
lians, and very obstinate fighting took place, t
Caecina, much to his own chagrin, was obliged to ra
the siege and lead his army back to Cremona.[1] Gall
with the first legion and other troops, had meanwh
proceeded further to the east and had probal
formed a junction with the detachments sent on
the Illyrican legions. With these he was in
march for Placentia to relieve Spurinna, when m
sengers from that general stopped him by announc
the safety of the place.[2] He had apparently alre
crossed the river in order to meet the Illyrican c
tingents, and he now halted at Bedriacum, an imp

joined Caecina. The two main armies were now encamped, the Vitellians round Cremona, their camp extending right up to the city walls, and the Othonians at Bedriacum, but with a view of harassing the Vitellians from nearer at hand the 2,000 gladiators on Otho's side were posted under the command of Marcius Macer on the right bank of the Po just below Cremona, and there, unexpectedly crossing over, routed some of the enemy's auxiliaries,[1] driving them back into Cremona. Caecina's attention, however, for the present was fixed on the main position at Bedriacum. He was desirous to gain some signal success, if not the decisive battle, before the arrival of Valens. He therefore prepared an ambush near a ruinous temple of Castor and Pollux about 12 miles from Cremona. The cavalry were to advance further still and entice the Othonians out of their camp and within reach of the ambuscade. Unfortunately for the success of this plan it was betrayed to the Othonian generals, who drew up their line of battle with three praetorian cohorts on the agger of the Postumian way, while the legionaries with 500 cavalry occupied the two wings. As was concerted, the Vitellians took to flight, but Celsus who had the command of the cavalry kept his men in check, upon which the ambuscade, giving up the hope of a surprise, rose and attacked him. By gradually retreating he drew them within reach of the infantry, who, if they had attacked at once, might well nigh have destroyed Caecina's

[1] Tac. *Hist.* ii. 23.

army. But Paulinus, hesitating and slow by nature, had not completed certain arrangements which he deemed advisable, and the delay gave the Vitellians time to retreat into wooded ground, and before the Othonians were able to dislodge them, Paulinus recalled them to the camp.[1] [illegible] the victory, such as it was, remained with the Othonians, but so great was the discontent of the soldiers with their generals that Otho transferred the chief command to his brother Salvius Titianus, behind whom, and with all the real authority, was Licinius Proculus, one of the praetorian praefects.[2]

Meanwhile the army of Valens had given one of the worst examples of the mutinies which were so common during this war. Some Batavian cohorts, who had joined him in the territory of the Lingones and had once been attached to the famous fourteenth legion, were little amenable to discipline and were the cause of disorder among the legionaries. But when Valens, under pretence of sending them into Narbonensis against Otho's fleet, strove to get rid of this turbulent element, a desperate mutiny broke out which had only just been put down when news arrived of Caecina's defeat.[3] The soldiers bitterly complained of Valens' inaction which had deprived them of the chance of being present, and the consequence was an immediate junction with Caecina.[4]

The Vitellians were now eager for the decisive

[1] Tac. *Hist.* ii. 24-26.
[2] Plut. *Oth.* 7.
[3] Tac. *Hist.* ii. 27-30.
[4] *id. ib.* 31.

battle. Among the Othonians opinions were divided, and Otho himself for the first time came to the camp at Bedriacum to attend a council of war. Suetonius Paulinus and his fellow generals were strongly in favour of delay. The Vitellian army, they represented, was not likely to grow larger than it was, since Vitellius would not venture to leave the Rhine frontier exposed by leading into Italy his remaining troops. It might even become smaller, since in an enemy's country their supplies might easily fail, and the warm climate would almost certainly affect the health of the German soldiers. On the other hand, they themselves were in a friendly country, were well supplied with provisions, and, what was more important, were expecting large reinforcements from Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Moesia, which would probably nearly double their army. Meanwhile they had all the prestige conferred by the possession of Rome and the support of the senate.[1] On the other hand, Otho was feverishly eager to escape from his present suspense and uncertainty by a battle, and Titianus and Proculus upheld this view in the council of war, maintaining that at the present moment their troops were all eager and confident,[2] while delay would damp their spirits and blunt their zeal. There seems no reason to suppose that Suetonius and Celsus were actuated by any other motive than military considerations. It is no doubt true that the senatorial order generally were supporting Otho rather through necessity than

[1] Tac. *Hist.* ii. 32. [2] Plut. *Oth.* 8.

from any preference for him over Vitellius, and, indeed, the character of both claimants was so mean and contemptible that enthusiasm for either was out of the question. It was perhaps owing to this circumstance and what seemed the natural probabilities of the case that the report afterwards arose, alluded to by both Plutarch and Tacitus,[1] that the idea occurred to both armies of coming to some agreement and either themselves choosing in common some third candidate or entrusting the choice to the senate, and that it was for this reason that Otho's generals wished for delay, while the precipitancy of Otho was the necessary means of anticipating treason. With regard to the Vitellians, any such design on their part is inconceivable. The prospects of Valens and Caecina were bound up with those of Vitellius, while the army was little likely to give up its claim to appoint an emperor either to the senate or to anyone else. Nor could the Othonian generals possibly hope for any such way out of their uncomfortable position. They knew too well how suspicious their soldiers were of their every action, and they had seen the experiment tried and fail of selecting a successor to the empire simply for his character and virtue. However this may be, the opinion of Titianus and Proculus prevailed and it was resolved to fight, while Otho with an almost inconceivable want of judgment or want of spirit once more retired to Brixellum, not only withdrawing from his troops the inspiration of his pre-

[1] Tac. *Hist.* ii. 37; Plut. *Oth.* 9.

sence, but what was of hardly less importance, taking with him a considerable force of praetorians to guard his person.[1]

Valens and Caecina were determined on this occasion not to be the attacking party, and as they were well informed of the enemy's plans, they had little doubt that by waiting the opportunity would come. To irritate the enemy as well as to give their own men some employment they began to construct a bridge of boats opposite the position of the gladiators, raising on the last boat a tower from which to harass the Othoniana.[2] The latter first attempted to meet this annoyance by building a tower of their own, and when this means failed they sent fire-ships down stream against the bridge, which caused the Vitellians somewhat ignominiously to decamp.[3] Shortly after, another skirmish near the same point once more exhibited the insubordination of the Othonian troops. A number of Batavian auxiliaries belonging to the army of Valens swam across to an island in the river and occupied it. Macer led his gladiators across by boats, but amid much confusion and fighting at a disadvantage against the agile Germans they were repulsed. The customary recrimination against their leader, Macer, followed, and once more Otho was induced to change his generals. Macer was deposed and the command over the gladiators given to Flavius Sabinus, while Spurinna was ordered to leave Placentia and proceed to the headquarters of the army at

[1] Tac. *Hist.* ii. 33. [2] *id. ib.* ii. 34. [3] Plut. *Oth.* 10.

Bedriacum.[1] Before, however, he arrived there, the battle had been fought and the campaign practically ended.

Titianus and Proculus in obedience to the decision of the council of war proceeded to march out from Bedriacum, and encamped . miles, or as Plutarch says six, from their starting point on the via Postumia.[2] It was significant of the new generalship which had superseded that of Paulinus, that although there were plenty of small streams in the neighbourhood, the spot selected was absolutely without water, and the troops considerably inconvenienced even during the one night of their encampment there. Next day there was another discussion as to the battle, and loud demands were made that both the gladiators and the praetorians with Otho should join the main army. However an urgent message from Otho ordered immediate battle,[3] and in spite of the remonstrances of Celsus and Paulinus, it was resolved to move the army forward another stage. The spot selected for the next encampment was on the Po, at its confluence with a small stream and about four miles from Cremona. Although it was almost certain that they would not be allowed to occupy this position without fighting, they marched with all their baggage mixed up among their lines. The Vitellians were aware of their approach in good time, and were prepared to meet them, while the Othonians were weary with their long march, confused and hindered by the

[1] Tac. *Hist.* ii. 35-36. [2] *id. ib.* 39. [3] *id. ib.* ii. 40.

baggage-waggons, and mistrustful of one another and of their generals.[1] The battle began disastrously. The report was spread, probably by treachery, among the Othonians that the enemy were ready to desert Vitellius. Accordingly the front ranks instead of attacking saluted; and this not only put them at a disadvantage against the Vitellians, who at once attacked them, but it also gave the impression to the ranks behind that treachery was meditated.[2] A number of the praetorians fled without striking a blow,[3] but the rest of the army, though placed at every disadvantage, made an obstinate resistance. Especially conspicuous was the I. legion called Adiutrix, which, though never before engaged in battle, maintained a not unequal combat with the veteran XXI., which formed the pick of Caecina's army.[4] Otho's cause however was from the first desperate. The gladiators from the other side of the Po had attempted to make a diversion by crossing the river and attacking the Vitellians in the flank, but Alfenus Varus with the Batavian cohorts had met and repulsed them, cutting most of them to pieces as they fled back to the river.[5]

The whole army was soon in full flight pursued by the conquerors. The way back to Bedriacum was a long one, and no quarter was shown, and in consequence the carnage was unusually heavy. At one particular spot near the ruined temple of Castor,

[1] Tac. *Hist.* ii. 41. [2] *id. ib.* 42. [3] Plut. *Oth.* 12.
[4] Tac. *Hist.* ii. 43. [5] *id. ib.* 43.

Plutarch, who went over the ground some years after with Mestrius Florus, was informed that there was a pile of corpses as high as the pediments.[1] Probably a stand may have been made here by some of the Othonians who were cut to pieces to a man.

Of the generals, Paulinus and Proculus, fearing the rage of the soldiers, avoided Bedriacum altogether.[2] They afterwards however repaired to Vitellius, and escaped punishment by a false confession of their own treachery, Paulinus basely asserting that the long and fatiguing march before the battle, which he had really opposed, was made in consequence of his advice.[3] Annius Gallus, who being disabled had remained in camp, and Marius Celsus did their best to collect the routed troops in Bedriacum. But the latter made no secret of his conviction that the cause was lost. Otho, he said, would never wish his troops to continue the war after such a defeat.[4] Nor were the soldiers in any way averse to this view. Titianus, whatever his own wishes, was forced to acquiesce, and Celsus and Gallus at once went in person to negociate with Caecina and Valens, who had halted with their army five miles from Bedriacum.[5] For a moment indeed Titianus took advantage of their absence and manned once more the walls, but when the Vitellian army approached there was no thought of resistance, and the Othonians swore allegiance to Vitellius.[6] The news of the battle reached Otho, who was

[1] Plut. *Oth.* 14. [2] Tac. *Hist.* ii. 44. [3] *id. ib.* 60.
[4] Plut. *Oth.* 13. [5] *id. ib.* [6] *id. ib.*

anxiously expecting it, at Brixellum. He could cherish no delusions as to what it meant. No doubt the praetorians who were with him were devoted and loyal: some of them even killed themselves afterwards on his funeral-pyre, but the attempt made by Tacitus to represent Otho as well able to continue the contest, but magnanimously declining to do so, is in no way justified by the facts. Some of the Illyrian forces, it is true, were said to have reached Aquileia,[1] but all communication with them was now absolutely cut off, and the soldiers with Otho himself were too few to be seriously reckoned. Otho had played his last stake and lost, and the only alternative to awaiting the executioners of Vitellius was the course he took. That he showed more consideration for his friends in his last hours than we should have expected from such a worthless voluptuary is certain,[2] but to compare his death with Cato's argues more for Martial's imagination than his knowledge of history.[3] After Otho's death his soldiers once more begged Verginius Rufus, who was with Otho at Brixellum, to accept the empire, and when he refused both this and also the office of their ambassador to Vitellius, without further hesitation they submitted to the victorious army.[4]

At Rome the news of Otho's defeat and death created little excitement; the soldiers left behind in the city at once took the oath to the new emperor,

[1] Tac. *Hist.* ii. 46.
[2] *id. ib.* 48.
[3] Mart. 6, 32.
[4] Plut. *Oth.* 18.

the fickle ulace carried round decked with
ers and la the images of Galba, at whose
h not three ...nths ago they had been indifferent
tators.[1] Nor was the senate more backward.
rying back fro re they had been
by Otho as in a n ages, they decreed
itellius all the titles ... irs which previous
rors had had. To the Italian towns in
neighbourhood of the vi army the triumph
itellius was a more seri... disastrous event.[2]
German legionaries treate m exactly as they
treated the towns in Gaul, nd neither Valens
Caecina had the power, even if they had the
, to check their outrages.

tellius all this while was still in Gaul, busy in
ng new troops to supply the place of the veterans
had marched to Italy.[3] He had also received an
sion of fresh troops from Britain. Leaving Hor-
ius Flaccus in charge of the Rhine frontier, he now
n his march. Soon good news began to arrive.
he learned of the victory at Bedriacum and the
ı of Otho; then that the two Mauretanian pro-
s, Caesariensis and Tingitana, through the murder
eir Othonian procurator Lucceius Albinus, had
d over to him.[4] At Lugdunum he found Valens
Caecina, who had travelled back to congratulate
and also the leaders of the conquered party who
there to secure his pardon. Paulinus and Pro-
were contemptuously dismissed on their own

Hist. ii. 55. [2] *id. ib.* 56. [3] *id. ib.* 57. [4] *id. ib.* 58.

confession of treachery. Titianus was excused
the score of his relationship to Otho and his old a
Marius Celsus, who had negociated the surrender
the troops at Bedriacum, was received with hono
and not even deprived of the promised consulshi
In fact towards the partizans of his rival Vitelli
showed no signs of cruelty, though he was induc
by false representations to order the execution
Dolabella whom Otho had sent away to Aquinu
As he left Lugdunum he was joined by Cluvi
Rufus, the legate of Tarraconensis, who came in a
pearance to congratulate Vitellius, in reality to cle
himself of the charge that he had meditated his ov
elevation to the chief power. Whatever his ov
belief may have been, Vitellius dismissed the
charges, but ordered Cluvius, who still nominal
retained his province, to accompany him to Rom
A more difficult problem was the treatment of t
conquered army. At present they were quartered
the various towns of North Italy side by side wi
the victorious German legionaries.[4] But there w
the constant fear of an outbreak of ill-feeling a
jealousy. Vitellius accordingly determined to remo
them from Italy. It will be remembered that detac
ments (vexillationes) only of the four Dalmatian a
Pannonian legions had actually fought at Bedriacu
but the legions themselves had at that time advanc
to Aquileia, and had to be somehow disposed
Accordingly the XIV. legion, which was most d

[1] Tac. *Hist.* ii. 60. [2] *id. ib.* 63. [3] *id. ib.* 65. [4] *id. ib.* 6

posed to be troublesome, was with some difficulty, and not without a quarrel with the Batavian cohorts at Turin, sent back to its former province, Britain.[1] The XI. and VII. were sent back to their headquarters in Dalmatia and Pann[illegible] while the XIII. was ordered to build amphitheatres at [illegible]mona and Bononia. The legion of marines was [illegible]patched to Hispania Tarraconensis. Still the praet[illegible]rians remained, and these it was deemed advisable to disband almost entirely,[2] though Vitellius afterwards enrolled no fewer than sixteen, selecting for the service his own German legionaries.[3] Even in regard to his own forces Vitellius found himself in some difficulty. Some, like the Batavian cohorts, were mutinous, others, like the auxiliaries from the various Gallic towns, useless, while the maintenance of so large an army was a heavy drain upon the exhausted treasury. Accordingly the Batavians were sent back to Germany,[4] where they were soon to play an important part in the rising of Civilis; the Gallic militia were sent home, while the legions and auxiliary troops were diminished by extensive 'missiones,' an economical step which was alike dangerous to the empire and unpopular with the soldiers.[5] Early in June Vitellius reached Cremona, and was conducted by his generals over the field of battle.[6] Unfortunately the nearer he came to Rome the greater license prevailed in his army, and the less consideration or respect he

[1] Tac. *Hist.* ii. 66. [2] *id. ib.* 67. [3] *id. ib.* 93.
[4] *id. ib.* 69. [5] *id. ib.* [6] *id. ib.* 70.

showed for his late opponents.[1] The army which accompanied him numbered still 60,000 men, but they were no longer like the hardy veterans with whom Valens and Caecina had set out. The luxuries of Italy had enervated them, and discipline was corrupted by the vile crowd of camp-followers who were allowed to accompany them. Vitellius himself was surrounded by a motley crowd. Senators and knights, each bent on securing pardon or gaining lucrative posts, actors, buffoons, and charioteers all flocked to the moving court.[2] During his short reign of about eight months Vitellius is said to have spent on his table no less a sum than twenty million sesterces.[3] But perhaps the most shameful feature of the reign was the entry into Rome. Seven miles from the gates a quarrel arose between the soldiers and the city mob which had poured out to see the emperor's advance, and the soldiers had no hesitation in drawing their swords upon the defenceless multitude.[4] Vitellius himself was with difficulty induced to enter in the toga praetexta rather than the paludamentum, but his march none the less had all the appearance of an entry into a conquered and captured city. The greater part of four legions accompanied him, and detachments from four others; twelve cavalry alae and thirty-four auxiliary cohorts.[5] The strange rough-looking soldiers, who most of them now saw Rome for the first time in their lives, wandered

[1] Tac. *Hist.* ii. 87. [2] *id. ib.* 87. [3] Dio Cass. 65. 3.
[4] Tac. *Hist.* ii. 88. [5] *id. ib.* 89.

...as reached when the latter entered
peror. The subsequent events of
ignoble reign rather belong to the qui
struggle with Vespasian's lieutenants,
count of which in the life of Vitellius it
lost.

MANUSCRIPTS AND PREVIOUS
CONTAINING GALBA AND

THAT the Lives of Galba and Otho did n
the series of Parallel Lives I have already
reasons for believing; and this view is
extent perhaps confirmed by the fact th
earliest MSS. these two Lives are found
Moral Works, and not with the other
considerably simplifies my task in giving
of the MSS. in which they occur. I mi
dismiss altogether

order which is given in the Index Venetus, and which is as follows:—

1. Theseus and Romulus.
2. Solon and Poplicola.
3. Themistocles and Camillus.
4. Aristides and Cato Major.
5. Cimon and Lucullus.
6. Pericles and Fabius Maximus.
7. Nicias and Crassus.
8. Alcibiades and Coriolanus.
9. Demosthenes and Cicero.
10. Phocion and Cato Minor.
11. Dion and Brutus.
12. Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus.
13. Eumenes and Sertorius.
14. Philopoemen and Flaminius.
15. Pelopidas and Marcellus.
16. Alexander and Caesar.
17. Demetrius and Antonius.
18. Pyrrhus and Marius.
19. Aratus and Artaxerxes.
20. Agis and Cleomenes.
    Tiberius and Caius Gracchus.
21. Lycurgus and Numa.
22. Lysander and Sulla.
23. Agesilaus and Pompeius.

These twenty-three pairs were divided into three books, the contents of which are given in the Cod. Lauren. lxix. 1, to which are prefixed the words *πίναξ τῶν ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ ταύτῃ τοῦ* Πλουτάρχου *λόγων παραλλήλων τῆς πρώτης καὶ δευτέρας καὶ τρίτης βίβλου.* Book I. contained 1-9: Book II. 10-16: and Book III. 17-23.

Book I. : Codex Monacensis, Cod. Palat. 1
contain 10-16, *i.e.* Book II., while Cod. S
nensis and Flor. lxix. 6 contain 17-23, *i.e.*

Now as Galba and Otho are in all edit
Lives placed at the end, we should exp
them, if among the Lives at all, in the MSS.
Book III. But neither the Codex San G
(x. cent.) nor Flor. lxix. 6 (xii. cent.) con
nor are they among the Lives in Paris. A a

Apart from the MSS. of the *Moralia*, in
are found, so far as I can ascertain, onl
lxix. 3, a MS. of no very early date, but
apparently not been used by Sintenis, in E
5692 (late XIV. cent.) at the British Mu
gether with sixteen other Lives, and some of
Treatises, and in a MS. in the Bodleian (Lau
where they are found together with Tib. a
Gracchus, and the Ῥωμαϊκὰ Ἀποφθέγματα.
which is of the XV. century, was used by B
his edition of 1724, but was not very correctl

MSS. of Plutarch seem to come from one common source, and have accordingly, as a rule, the same mistakes and lacunae, "ita ut alius alio praestet tantum prout diversis distant ab archetypo sive aetatis intervallis sive curae diligentiaeque a librariis in rem impensae gradibus."

The other MSS. in which *Galba* and *Otho* are contained are those of the *Moralia*, especially—

Par. 1671 (A), dating from the end of the xiii. century, and which contains not only the Parallel Lives, as mentioned above, but the *Moralia* as well, and *Galba* and *Otho* among the latter. This is the best MS., and in several places enables us to correct the traditional reading. It has been collated by Sintenis, from whom I derive its readings, as given in my Apparatus Criticus.

Par. 1672 (B), a MS. of the xvi. century, with the same contents as A, but in most respects inferior. Wyttenbach is of opinion that it was copied from A, though Sintenis considers this doubtful, as in certain cases it contains better readings. This also has been collated by Sintenis.

Vat. 139 (W), a MS. of the xiv. century, containing the *Moralia* only, and *Galba* and *Otho* among them. This has also been collated by Sintenis.

In addition to these, there are other MSS. of the *Moralia* containing our two Lives, Vat. 1012, 1013, 1310, Urbinas 96, but these Sintenis describes as "communi omnium pravitate insignes."

The MSS. therefore which come into consideration in connection with *Galba* and *Otho* are

The first printed edition of Pl
Latin translation of them publish
entitled "Graecorum Latinorum
a Plutarcho Graece scripte: a di
latine edite foeliciter incipient."
cated to Cardinal Franciscus Pi
tained the Lives in an order diff
the Venetus Index and the M
according to the chronology of the
except that Alexander and Caesar
Phocion and Cato Minor, while Di
before Demosthenes and Cicero a
Antonius. With these exceptions,
same as was followed afterward
edition, Galba and Otho being at
regard to these two Lives, the e
dedicatory letter, "Expressit Galba
Caesarum minimos et nescio an sati
Caesares numerentur. Augusti,

Moralia, entitled "Plutarchi Opuscula lxxxxii.," with an "Index moralium omnium et eorum quae in ipsis tractantur." In this edition the life of Otho is found between Στωικὰ ἐναντιώματα and Πότερα τῶν ζώων φρονιμώτερα τὰ χερσαῖα ἢ τὰ ἔνυδρα, after which follows the life of Galba. The date of publication is given thus at the end of the book, "Venetiis in aedibus Aldi et Andreae Asculani Soceri: Mense Martis M.D.IX."

In 1517 appeared from the press of Philip Junta at Florence the editio princeps of the Parallel Lives, which followed the usual MSS. order and arrangement into three books, except that Books II. and III. are transposed, and so the order of Lives is 1-9, 18-22, 10-17, 23, and then follow *Otho*, *Galba*, and last of all Isocrates' *Life of Evagoras*. Philip Junta in his dedicatory letter to Marcellus Vergilius, state secretary to the republic of Florence, says, "cum .... esset mihi impedimento quod optimo exemplari carerem, tu ob egregium tuum in litteras amorem .... codicem tuum ad communem studiorum utilitatem castigatissimum nobis commodasti." R. Schöll has proved (*Hermes*, v., p. 114 foll.) from traces of printer's marks in the MSS. corresponding exactly with the lines in the Juntine edition, that this was printed from two MSS. now in Florence, Cod. Abbatiae Flor. 206 and 169. But *Otho* and *Galba* are not contained in these, and I believe that they are taken from the Aldine edition of 1509. I do not profess thoroughly to have collated the two, but I have examined them with some care, and in every case that I can find where the Aldine edition of the Lives of 1519 has in any way

altered the text of the first edition, Junta (1517) and Aldine (1509) agree against Ald. (1519). The following instances will suffice: (1) in Ald. (1509) and Junt. (1517) *Otho* comes before *Galba:* in Ald. (1519) the chronological order is followed. (2) Ald. (1509) and Junt. (1517) show lacunae, (*α*) in *Galb.* 7 πολλ . . . . τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου; (*β*) in *Galb.* 24 διὰ τῆς Τιβερίου . . . . καλουμένης οἰκίας; in Ald. (1519) these lacunae do not appear. (3) In *Galb.* 18 *ad fin.*, Ald. (1509), and Junt. (1517) read ἀντεφώνουν ἄξιος; Ald. (1519) reads ἀντεφώνουν εἰ ἄξιος. The date of the Juntine edition is given as follows at the end of the book, "Florentiae in aedibus Philippi Juntae, anno virginei partus humanaeque salutis M.D.XVII., die XXVII. mensis Augusti."

Two years after the appearance of the Juntine edition came the Aldine edition of the Lives (1519). "Plutarchi quae vocantur Parallela," the three last Lives being *Galba*, *Otho*, and Isocrates' *Life of Evagoras.* A number of obvious mistakes in the Juntine edition are corrected in this, although the new readings are due entirely to the acumen of the editor, probably Marcus Masurus, and not to any fresh employment of a MS. It is from this edition that the modern order of the Lives dates, arranged as it is according to the chronology of the Roman characters, whose Lives are given. Thus Franciscus Asulanus says in his dedicatory letter to Petrus Bembo, "Sed quae paulo ante Florentiae nullo ordine velut tumultuaria opera in lucem exierant, equidem ut plures numero invenire non potui, ita multum et scripturae

castigatione et ordine hoc quem a Plutarcho etiam servatum fuisse contenderim propter seriem temporum Romanorum," etc. That this order is not Plutarch's is certain, and, as we have seen, it was with few differences anticipated by the Latin Translation published in 1470. The date of the Aldine edition is thus given at the end of the book: "Venetiis in aedibus Aldi et Andreae Soceri; mense Augusto. M.D.XIX."

In 1533 was published the editio Basiliensis, Grynaeus discharging the office of editor, and the text being based on the Aldine edition of the Lives.

Nine years later, in 1542, was published the editio Basiliensis of the *Moralia*, *Galba* and *Otho* being included between the Στωϊκὰ ἐναντιώματα and Πότερα τῶν ζώων φρονιμώτερα κ.τ.λ.

In 1572 appeared for the first time at Geneva the complete works of Plutarch, edited by Henricus Stephanus, in thirteen volumes, who based his edition on the editiones Basilienses, and so indirectly on the Aldines. So Reiske says, "Regnat hodie inter nos textus Stephanius, h. e. Aldinus non ex ipso Aldino fonte haustus, neque purus redditus, sed per rivum Basiliensem .... in nos derivatus." This edition of Stephanus gave to Plutarch's writings the form which they retained for nearly two hundred years. His text was an undoubted improvement on the earlier editions, and fully maintained the great reputation which he enjoyed among his contemporaries. Since all the MSS. are in a number of places hopelessly corrupt, conjectural emendation cannot be denied

altogether a place in the text of Plutarch, but it is of course essential that the difference between conjectures however good and MSS. readings should be clearly kept in view. Stephanus himself distinctly stated that though he had made conjectures of his own in certain places, he had admitted no reading into the text except those derived from MSS. "Neque enim quicquam nisi ex illis (*i.e.* codicibus) petitum in contextum admittendum putavi, quum alioqui meas in quosdam locos conjecturas haberem, de quibus refragraturum mihi neminem verisimile erat." Unfortunately however there was every appearance of uncertainty in his procedure. He never specifies the MSS. from which he derived his readings, and the vague use which he makes of such expressions as "libri veteres," "veteres codices," seemed to justify the suspicion that he inserted his own conjectures as MSS. readings. While Wyttenbach merely contented himself with complaining of the uncertainty so caused, Reiske, and after him Sintenis in the preface to Vol. I. of his earlier edition, accuse him not only of arrogance and temerity, but of actual bad faith, so that he corrupted more passages than he improved. A closer examination of the Parisian codices however has now convinced Sintenis that this judgment does considerably less than justice to Stephanus, and in *Philologus I.*, p. 134-142, he recants his previous accusation, and admits that all the readings of Stephanus were derived from one or other of the Paris MSS., although no judgment was exercised in weighing the comparative value of those which he used.

It is to be noticed that *Galba* and *Otho* appear in the edition of Stephanus not with the Parallel Lives, but in the third volume of the διάφορα συγγράμματα, placed between Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν δανείζεσθαι and the Βίοι τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων. Based on the editio Stephaniana were the two editiones Frankofurtanae of 1599 and 1620 and the Parisian edition of 1624.

In 1724 was published in London the edition of Bryan, "Plutarchi Parallela seu Vitae Parallelae," in five splendid volumes. This edition has notes, though not of any great value, and at the end it has the variant readings of the Juntine and Aldine editions, and some critical notes by Bryan himself and by Moses du Soul (Solanus), who completed the edition after Bryan's death. This edition, though faulty in many points, is a decided step in advance. The supremacy of Stephanus, though not thrown off, is to a certain extent shaken. Bryan often ventures to doubt his readings, and in some cases to prefer those of the Juntine or Aldine editions. More important still is the use made by both Bryan and du Soul of the codices at their disposal. For *Galba* and *Otho* in particular Bryan collated the Bodleian MS. already referred to, with the Parisian edition of 1624.

In 1774 appeared at Leipzig "Plutarchi Chaeronensis quae supersunt omnia, Graece et Latine," by J. J. Reiske, who says in his preface, "Prima haec mihi proposita fuit meta ut Plutarchi orationem seu textum Graecum editio haec nostra Lipsiensis multo daret emendatiorem quam ulla alia dedisset." The edition marks the final deposition of Stephanus from

attempt to consult any MSS., Monacensis, containing Book been for a considerable time at that he did was to collate, and perfunctory way, the Juntine with those of London and Pari of reading occurred, he debate values in his own mind and wit this way formed the text of whi expected. His edition contains and du Soul, and some addit critical, of his own. They ofte acumen, and in the *Galba* and conjectures have been admitted Sintenis. Reiske's preface is from the account it gives of th Plutarch.

In 1809 was published in Pari edition of the Lives by Coraes, notes, mainly but not exclusive *Galba* and *Otho* several

In 1825-1830 H. Schaefer published his second edition, with notes, in six volumes, adding nothing very essential to his predecessors.

Up to this time the text of the Lives, though it had been improved by the conjectures of these various editors, had never been submitted to any thorough or scientific recension, and this work was undertaken by C. Sintenis in his edition of the Lives, in five volumes, published 1839-1846. He not only based his text entirely upon an examination of the MSS. and the earliest editions, but for the first time he weighed the value of the various MSS., and proceeded altogether by the systematic and careful methods of modern textual criticism, giving a full Apparatus Criticus at the bottom of each page of the text. This edition purged the Lives from most of their corruptions, and at any rate remedied the uncertainties caused by Stephanus, and placed the text on a firm and certain footing. But at the time of the publication of this edition, Sintenis had not had the opportunity of consulting all the Parisian Codices, and accordingly another edition, in five small volumes, was published from the Teubner Press in 1852-1854, embodying the results of his latest investigations. This has formed the standard text of Plutarch's Lives since, and it is on a later issue of this edition (1887) that the text of my edition is based, though in a few cases I have departed from it where the MSS. give no help and conjecture is allowable, or where the context clearly points out the correct reading. (A list of these cases I give below.)

Lastly, in 1855-1857 appeared the Vitae Parallelae edited, in five volumes, by I. Bekker, with an admirable preface containing all that is known of the life of Plutarch, an account of his writings, and a detailed enumeration both of previous editions and also of the MSS. Though many of the Lives have been published separately, those of Galba and Otho have as yet found no editor either in Germany, England, or elsewhere. While I have examined and consulted every one of the editions which I have enumerated above, Coraes is the only editor whose notes, apart from those on the text, I have found of any use, and those only in four or five places. The great interest of the Lives lies in their resemblance to the *Histories* of Tacitus, and it is accordingly to this aspect of them that I have given the most attention.

Places in which the text of Sintenis is departed from—

Galb. 1, 15. *φύσεως τε γενναίας* for *φύσεως γενναίας.*

Galb. 4, 29. *Αὐτὸς, εἶπεν, ὦ Γάλβα, τίνα τρόπον βουλεύῃ σοι αὐτὸς εἶπεν, Ὦ Γάλβα, τίνα τρόπον βουλεύεσθε.*

Galb. 5, 24. *κάλλιον* for (*καὶ λίαν*).

Galb. 7, 16. *πολλὰ . . . τῶν* I have enclosed in brackets.

Galb. 9, *ad fin.* [*καὶ παρείκει*] I have omitted.

Galb. 13, 32. *Ἀλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ* for *Ἀλλὰ πολλοί.*

Galb. 15, 12. *Τρεβωνίου* for *Τρεβωνιανοῦ.*

Galb. 18, 16. *τῶν μὲν* for *τὸ μέν.*

Galb. 19, 1. *Οὐϊτελλίῳ* for *Τιγελλίνῳ.*

Galb. 28, 10. [*καὶ Οὐϊτελλίου*] I have omitted.

Oth. 5, 34. *πρόσω ποιήσασθαι* for *προσποιήσασθαι.*

Oth. 15, 39. *ὅτι πολλάκις* for *πολλάκις, ὅτι.*

Oth. 18, 6. *Δαίμοσι* for *Δηλώσει.*

Ascertained dates in the reigns of Galba and Otho—

News of Vindex' revolt reaches Nero,	March 19, 68.
Galba's proclamation in Spain,	April 5.
Death of Nero,	June 5.
Arrival of Galba in Italy,	Autumn of 68.
The marines formed into a legion,	Dec. 22, 68.
Oath to Galba refused by German legions,	Jan. 1, 69.
Proclamation of Vitellius,	Jan. 3.
Adoption of Piso,	Jan. 10.
Murder of Galba and proclamation of Otho,	Jan. 15.
Consulship assumed by Otho,	Jan. 26.
Otho appointed Pontifex Maximus,	March 9.
Otho's departure from Rome,	March 14.
Battle of Bedriacum,	April 15.
Death of Otho,	April 16.
'Dies imperii' of Vitellius,	April 19.

Abbreviations in Apparatus Criticus—

A.	Cod. Parisin. 1671.	Steph.	Stephanus.
B.	Cod. Parisin. 1672.	Bry.	Bryan.
Bod.	Cod. Laud. Gr. 55.	Reisk.	Reiske.
W.	Palat. 109.	Schaef.	Schaefer.
H.	Harley MS. 5692.	Sint.	Sintenis.
i.	Juntine ed. (1517).	Xyl.	Xylander.
a.	Aldine ed. (1519).	Sol.	du Soul (Solanus).

ΠΛΟΥ[illegible]ΓΑΛΒΑΣ.

CH[illegible]I.

Mercenary soldiers, according to Iphicrates, should be fond of money and pleasure. Most authorities, however, rather agree with Aemilius Paulus, who demanded of his soldiers ready hands, sharp swords, and implicit obedience to their general. Plato, too, sees how indispensable to a good general is obedience in his men, and how obedience presupposes a noble nature and systematic training. His words receive a striking confirmation in the events which followed Nero's death, when the Roman Empire resembled the scattered Gigantes owing to the license of its soldiers. Lycophron of Pherae was called a tragedy-king, because he reigned barely ten months, but in less time four Roman emperors entered and left the Palace. The people, however, were avenged for their sufferings by the speedy deaths of their oppressors, and not least by the fate of their arch-seducer, Nymphidius.

Ὁ μὲν Ἀθηναῖος Ἰφικράτης τὸν μισθοφόρον ἠξίου στρατιώτην καὶ φιλόπλουτον εἶναι καὶ φιλήδονον, ὅπως ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις χορηγίαν ἐπιζητῶν ἀγωνίζηται παραβολώτερον, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι, καθάπερ ἐρρωμένον σῶμα, τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἀξιοῦσιν ἰδίᾳ μηδέποτε χρώμενον ὁρμῇ συγκινεῖσθαι τῇ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. Διὸ καὶ Παῦλον Αἰμίλιον λέγουσι τὴν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ

4. *αἰωρύμενον*, Sol. coni.

δύναμιν παραλαβόντα λαλιᾶς καὶ περιεργίας, οἷον διαστρατηγοῦσαν, ἀνάπλεων, παρεγγυῆσαι τὴν χεῖρα ποιεῖν ἑτοίμην καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν ὀξεῖαν ἕκαστον, αὐτῷ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μελήσειν. Ὁ δὲ Πλάτων οὐδὲν ἔργον ὁρῶν ἄρχοντος ἀγαθοῦ καὶ στρατηγοῦ στρατιᾶς μὴ σωφρονούσης μηδὲ ὁμοπαθούσης, ἀλλὰ τὴν πειθαρχικὴν ἀρετὴν ὁμοίως τῇ βασιλικῇ νομίζων φύσεως τε γενναίας καὶ τροφῆς φιλοσόφου δεῖσθαι, μάλιστα τῷ πράῳ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ τὸ θυμοειδὲς καὶ ὀραστήριον ἐμμελῶς ἀνακερασαμένης, ἄλλα τε πάθη πολλὰ καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίοις συμπεσόντα μετὰ τὴν Νέρωνος τελευτὴν ἔχει μαρτύρια καὶ παραδείγματα τοῦ μηδὲν εἶναι φοβερώτερον ἀπαιδεύτοις χρωμένης καὶ ἀλόγοις ὁρμαῖς ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ στρατιωτικῆς δυνάμεως. Δημάδης μὲν γὰρ Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήσαντος εἴκαζε τὴν Μακεδόνων στρατιὰν ἐκτετυφλωμένῳ τῷ Κύκλωπι, πολλὰς κινουμένην ὁρῶν κινήσεις ἀτάκτους καὶ παραφόρους· τὴν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ὅμοια τοῖς λεγομένοις Τιτανικοῖς πάθεσι καὶ κινήμασι κατελάμβανεν, εἰς πολλὰ διασπωμένην ἅμα καὶ πολλαχόθεν αὖθις ἑαυτῇ συμπίπτουσαν, οὐχ οὕτως ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας τῶν ἀναγορευομένων αὐτοκρατόρων, ὡς φιλοπλουτίας καὶ ἀκολασίας τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ δι' ἀλλήλων ὥσπερ ἥλους τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐκκρούοντος. Καίτοι Διονύσιος Φεραῖον ἄρξαντα Θετταλῶν δέκα μῆνας, εἶτα εὐθὺς ἀναιρεθέντα, τὸν τραγικὸν ἀνεκάλει τύραννον, ἐπισκώπτων τὸ τάχος τῆς μεταβολῆς. Ἡ δὲ τῶν

15. τε add. Bod. H. om. cett.—33. Post Φεραῖον, Cor. coni. Ἀνυφρονα.

δικαιότατα πάντων τὸν δελεά
τοσοῦτον ἐλπίζειν ἐπὶ μεταβ
αὐτὸς ὑπέσχετο, κάλλιστον
μισθῷ, τὴν ἀπὸ Νέρωνος ἀπ
γενομένην.

CHAPTER II.

*He, being colleague of Tigellinus i
praetorian guard, by making his soldier
deserted them and fled to Egypt, induced
emperor, promising in his name an
both to praetorians and legionaries. T
for it tempted the troops to sacrifice him;
to Galba, who refused to pay the money.
the soldiers, for they were led on by the h
another, never attaining the satisfaction
but destroying their own strength. A det
events belongs to a systematic history, but
the deeds and fortunes of the emperors,
down.*

Νυμφίδιος γὰρ Σαβῖνος ὢν ἔ

παρόντος, ἀλλ' ἤδη πεφευγότος, αὐτοκράτορα Γάλβαν ἀναγορεῦσαι, καὶ δωρεὰν ὑπέσχετο κατ' ἄνδρα τοῖς αὐλικοῖς καὶ στρατηγικοῖς προσαγορευομένοις δραχμὰς ἑπτακισχιλίας πεντακοσίας, τοῖς δὲ ἐκτὸς στρατευομένοις πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας ἐπὶ χιλίαις, ὅσον ἀμήχανον ἦν συναγαγεῖν μὴ πλείονα μυριάκις κακὰ παρασχόντα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὧν Νέρων παρέσχε. Τοῦτο γὰρ εὐθὺς μὲν ἀπώλεσε Νέρωνα, μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ Γάλβαν· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ὡς πλησόμενοι προήκαντο, τὸν δὲ μὴ λαμβάνοντες ἀπέκτειναν. Εἶτα τὸν τοσοῦτον δώσοντα ζητοῦντες ἔφθησαν ἐν ταῖς ἀποστάσεσι καὶ προδοσίαις ἀναλώσαντες αὐτοὺς ἢ τυχόντες ὧν ἤλπισαν. Τὰ μὲν οὖν καθ' ἕκαστα τῶν γενομένων ἀπαγγέλλειν ἀκριβῶς τῆς πραγματικῆς ἱστορίας ἐστίν, ὅσα δὲ ἄξια λόγου τοῖς τῶν Καισάρων ἔργοις καὶ πάθεσι συμπέπτωκεν, οὐδὲ ἐμοὶ προσήκει παρελθεῖν.

CHAPTER III.

Sulpicius Galba was a man of immense wealth, belonging to a noble family. He was fond of recalling his relationship to Lutatius Catulus, and he was a connection of Livia, the wife of Augustus. By her influence he gained the consulship. He distinguished himself as legate of Germany and proconsul of Africa. He was frugal and economical in his habits, and this, when he was emperor, gained him a reputation for meanness. Nero, while still unsuspicious of capable men, and thinking his advanced age and gentle disposition a guarantee, sent him as legate to one of the Spanish provinces.

Γάλβας Σουλπίκιος ὅτι μὲν ἰδιώτης πλουσιώτατος ἁπάντων εἰς τὸν Καισάρων παρῆλθεν οἶκον,

...ωρηκεν. Ἦν δέ τι καὶ ἐ
γυναικὶ κατὰ γένος προσήκων ὁ
τοῦτο Λιβίας παρασχούσης ὑπο
προῆλθε. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ στρα
μανίᾳ καλῶς ἄρξαι καὶ Λιβύης ἀνθ
σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπαινεθῆναι. Τὸ δὲ εἰ
διαίτης καὶ φειδωλὸν ἐν δαπάναι
αἰτίαν ἔσχεν αὐτοκράτορος γενομέ
ἦν ἕωλόν τινα δόξαν εὐταξίας ἔφερε
Ἐπέμφθη δὲ ὑπὸ Νέρωνος Ἰβηρί
δεδιδαγμένου φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν ἀξι
τῶν πολιτῶν. Ἐκείνῳ δὲ καὶ φύσει
γεγονέναι προσετίθει πίστιν εὐλαβεί

CHAPTER IV.

There, though unable to help the provi
rapacity of the imperial procurators, he yet n
with them apparent, and pointedly abstained
against the circulation of scurrilous verses a
He had been in the ...

his friends. Their opinions were divided, but Vinius pointed out that the mere fact of deliberation was treason to Nero, and that he must choose between accepting Vindex's proposal, or taking active steps against him.

Ἐκεῖ δὲ τῶν ἀλιτηρίων ἐπιτρόπων ὠμῶς καὶ ἀγρίως τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἐκείνῳ διαφορούντων ἄλλο μὲν εἶχεν οὐδὲν βοηθεῖν, αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ φανερὸς εἶναι συναλγῶν καὶ συναδικούμενος ἁμῶς γέ πως ἀναπνοήν τινα καὶ παραμυθίαν τοῖς καταδικαζομένοις καὶ πωλουμένοις παρέσχε· καὶ ποιημάτων εἰς Νέρωνα γινομένων καὶ πολλαχοῦ περιφερομένων καὶ ᾀδομένων, οὐκ ἐκώλυεν οὐδὲ συνηγανάκτει τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις ἐφ' οἷς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠγαπᾶτο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη συνήθης ἔτος ὄγδοον ἐκεῖνο τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων, ἐν ᾧ Ἰούνιος Οὐίνδιξ ἐπανέστη Νέρωνι Γαλατίας ὢν στρατηγός. Λέγεται μὲν οὖν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐμφανοῦς ἀποστάσεως γράμματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ Οὐίνδικος, οἷς μήτε πιστεῦσαι μήτε μηνῦσαι καὶ κατειπεῖν, ὡς ἕτεροι τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῖς γραφείσας ἔπεμψαν πρὸς Νέρωνα καὶ διέφθειραν ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἧς ὕστερον μετασχόντες ὡμολόγησαν αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἢ ἐκείνου προδόται γεγονέναι. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ λαμπρῶς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκφήνας ὁ Οὐίνδιξ ἔγραψε τῷ Γάλβᾳ παρακωλῶν ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν

---

1. Ἐκεῖ, Sint.; Ἔπει, Bod. H. a.i., et cett.; ἐπιτρόπων, rest. Xylander; ἐπίτροποι ὤν, Bod. a.i. et cett.—2. ἐκείνῳ, Reisk.; ἐκείνων, Bod. a.i.—3. αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ φανερὸς, rest. Cor. αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ φανερὸν, Bod. H. i.a.—7. φερομένων, Bod.—11. Οὐίνδιξ, Bod. et Steph.; Οὐίνδιος, A. et a.i.

μὲν ἠξίουν περιμένειν καραδοκοῦν
Ῥώμη καὶ φορὰν ἔξει πρὸς τ
Τίτος δὲ Οὐίνιος ὁ τοῦ στρατη
ἡγεμὼν· "Αὐτὸς" εἶπεν, "ὦ Γάλ
βουλεύῃ; τὸ γὰρ ζητεῖν, Νέρωνι εἰ
ἤδη οὐ μενόντων ἐστίν. Ὡς οὖν ὑπ
Νέρωνος οὐ δὴ προετέον τὴν τοῦ (
ἢ καὶ κατηγορητέον εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ
ὅτι σὲ βούλεται Ῥωμαίους ἔχειν ἄρ
Νέρωνα τύραννον."

CHAPTER V.

Soon after, Galba appointed a day for the fo
of slaves in his province, and a great crow
pectation of some important announcement.
Galba ascended his tribunal than he was s
For the moment, however, he did not assume t
tented himself with that of legate of the Ro
people, while he expressed horror at Ner

pathy for his victims. The effect on Nero justified the wisdom of Vindex in choosing Galba for his ally. For the emperor, who had despised the Gallic rising, was in consternation at the news of Galba's secession. However, he induced the Senate to declare him a public enemy, and affected to look forward to the booty he would gain from the conquered Gauls, while he ordered Galba's property in Italy to be sold. Galba retaliated by selling Nero's estates in Spain.

Ἐκ τούτου προγράμματι μὲν ἐδήλωσεν ὁ Γάλβας ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἐλευθερώσεις ἀποδώσει τοῖς δεομένοις, λαλιὰ δὲ καὶ φήμη προεκπεσοῦσα πλήθος ἀνθρώπων ἤθροισε προθύμων ἐπὶ τὸν νεωτερισμόν. Οὐκ ἔφθη γοῦν φανερὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος γενόμενος καὶ πάντες αὐτὸν ὁμοφώνως αὐτοκράτορα προσεῖπον. Ὁ δὲ τιμὴν μὲν εὐθὺς οὐ προσεδέξατο τὴν προσηγορίαν, κατηγορήσας δὲ τοῦ Νέρωνος καὶ τῶν ἀνηρημένων ἀνδρῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ὀλοφυράμενος ὡμολόγησεν ἐπιδώσειν τῇ πατρίδι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρόνοιαν, οὔτε Καῖσαρ οὔτ' αὐτοκράτωρ, στρατηγὸς δὲ συγκλήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων ὀνομαζόμενος. Ὅτι δ' ὀρθῶς ὁ Οὐίνδιξ καὶ λελογισμένως ἐξεκαλεῖτο τὸν Γάλβαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἐπιστώσατο μάρτυρι τῷ Νέρωνι. Προστοιούμενος γὰρ ἐκείνου καταφρονεῖν καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ Γαλατῶν, ἅμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τὰ περὶ Γάλβαν (ἔτυχε δὲ λελουμένος καὶ ἀριστῶν) ἀνέτρεψε τὴν τράπεζαν. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συγκλήτου ψηφισαμένης πολέμιον τὸν Γάλβαν αὐτός τε παίζειν καὶ θρασύνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς φίλους βουλόμενος, οὐ

2. ἀποδώσει, Bod. H.

φαύλην ἔφη πρόρρησιν ἐμπεπτωκέναι λογισμοῦ δεομένῳ χρημάτων αὐτῷ· καὶ τὰ μὲν Γαλατῶν, ὅταν ὑποχείριοι γένωνται, λαφυραγωγήσεσθαι κάλλιον, ἡ δὲ Γάλβα πάρεστιν οὐσία χρῆσθαι καὶ πωλεῖν ἤδη πολεμίου πεφηνότος. Οὗτός τε δὴ τὰ Γάλβα πιπράσκειν ἐκέλευε, καὶ Γάλβας ἀκούσας ὅσα Νέρωνος ἦν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ κηρύττων εὗρισκε πολλοὺς προθυμοτέρους ὠνητάς.

CHAPTER VI.

Galba's position was generally recognized, but Clodius Macer in Africa, and Verginius Rufus in Germany, took independent courses. Clodius confined himself to robbery and rapine, and was clearly incapable of holding the empire; but Verginius, after refusing the title of imperator offered him by his legions, declared that the Senate alone could confer the empire. At this Galba took alarm, and when, owing to the excitement of the troops a battle ensued between Verginius and Vindex, and the latter on being defeated took his own life, the report gained ground that the victorious army would choose between Verginius and Nero. Galba, losing all heart, wrote to Verginius begging him to make common cause to protect the empire. He then retired to Clunia, regretting that he had ever relinquished his wonted inactivity and indifference.

Ἀφισταμένων δὲ πολλῶν τοῦ Νέρωνος καὶ πάντων ἐπιεικῶς τῷ Γάλβᾳ προστιθεμένων, μόνος Κλώδιος Μάκρος ἐν Λιβύῃ καὶ Οὐεργίνιος Ῥοῦφος ἐν Γαλατίᾳ

22. πρόφασιν, coni. Sol.—ἐκ λογισμοῦ, coni. Reisk.—23. χρηματισμοῦ, coni. Cor.—24. Post λαφυραγωγήσεσθαι, codd. et i.a., add. καὶ λίαν; καὶ λείαν ποιήσεσθαι, coni. Reisk.; δικαίως, coni. Cor., delet Sintenis, κάλλιον, coni. Bernardakis.—29. ὠνητάς, coni. Bryanus; ὄντας, Bod. et i.a.

3. Μάκρος, rest. Xyl.; Μαῦρος, codd. et i.a.

τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγούμενος αὐτοὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔπραττον, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν αἵρεσιν ἔχοντες. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Κλώδιος ἐν ἁρπαγαῖς πραγμάτων γεγονὼς καὶ φόνοις ἀνδρῶν δι' ὠμότητα καὶ πλεονεξίαν δῆλος ἦν ἐν τῷ μήτε κατέχειν μήτε ἀφιέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν δύνασθαι περιφερόμενος, Οὐεργίνιος δὲ ταγμάτων ἐπιστατῶν δυνατωτάτων πολλάκις αὐτὸν ἀναγορευόντων αὐτοκράτορα καὶ βιαζομένων οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔφη λήψεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν οὔτε ἄλλῳ περιόψεσθαι διδομένην, ὃν ἂν μὴ ἡ σύγκλητος ἕληται. Ταῦτα τὸν Γάλβαν οὐ μετρίως ἐθορύβει τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ Οὐεργινίου καὶ Οὐίνδικος στρατεύματα τρόπον τινὰ βίᾳ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὥσπερ ἡνιόχους κρατῆσαι χαλινῶν μὴ δυνηθέντας, εἰς μάχην ἐξενεγκόντα μεγάλην συνέρραξαν, καὶ Οὐίνδικος ἑαυτὸν ἀνελόντος ἐπὶ δισμυρίοις Γαλατῶν πεσοῦσι διῆλθε λόγος, ὡς βουλομένων πάντων ἐπὶ νίκῃ τοσαύτῃ τὸν Οὐεργίνιον ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἢ πάλιν μεταβαλουμένων πρὸς Νέρωνα, τότε δὴ παντάπασι περίφοβος γενόμενος ὁ Γάλβας ἔγραψε τῷ Οὐεργινίῳ, παρακαλῶν κοινοπραγεῖν καὶ διαφυλάσσειν ἅμα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν Ῥωμαίοις· αὖθις δὲ μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς Κλουνίαν, Ἰβηρικὴν πόλιν, ἀναχωρήσας ἐν τῷ μετανοεῖν περὶ τῶν γεγονότων καὶ ποθεῖν τὴν συνήθη καὶ σύντροφον ἀπραγμοσύνην μᾶλλον ἢ πράττειν τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων διέτριβεν.

17. ἡνιόχους, Cor.; τοὺς ἡνιόχους, Bod. H. et vulg.—22. μεταβαλουμένων, Bryanus; μεταβαλομένων, A. Bod. W. et vulg. —26. Κλουνίαν, rest. Xyl.; Κολουνίαν, codd. et i.a.

... Galba emperor. They had done death was known, but before Icelus had l self seen the corpse of the late emperor Galba, and was confirmed two days la Vinius with copies of the several decrees of was promoted to an honourable position, the equestrian ring and the name of Marcia

Ἦν δὲ θέρος ἤδη, καὶ βραχὺ πρὸ Ῥώμης Ἴκελος ἀνὴρ ἀπελεύθερος ἐ θόμενος δὲ τὸν Γάλβαν ἀναπαύεσ ἐβάδιζε συντόνως ἐπὶ τὸ δωμάτιον τῶν θαλαμηπόλων ἀνοίξας καὶ πα γειλεν, ὅτι καὶ ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ Νέρων φανεροῦ, τὸ στράτευμα πρῶτον, εἶ ἡ σύγκλητος αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Γάλ σειεν, ὀλίγον δὲ ὕστερον ἀπαγγε ἐκεῖνος· οὐ μὴν αὐτός γε πιστεύσας γέλλουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐπελθὼν τῷ νεκρ θεασάμενος, οὕτως ἐξελθεῖν. Ταῦτ μενα λαμπρὸν ἦρε τὸν Γάλβαν, πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν

στρατοπέδου μεθ' ἑτέρων ἀφίκετο τὰ δόξαντα τῇ συγκλήτῳ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀπαγγέλλων. Οὗτος μὲν οὖν εἰς τάξιν ἔντιμον προήχθη· τῷ δ' ἀπελευθέρῳ δακτυλίους τε χρυσοῦς ἔδωκε καὶ Μαρκιανὸς ὁ Ἴκελος ἤδη καλούμενος εἶχε τὴν πρώτην ἐν τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις δύναμιν.

CHAPTER VIII.

Meanwhile, at Rome Nymphidius Sabinus, counting on the old age and slow movements of Galba, and on his own long-standing popularity with the praetorian cohorts, at once assumed to himself the sole administration of business. He deposed Tigellinus, gave banquets in the emperor's name to the leading men, and prepared to send emissaries to Galba requesting that he might remain sole prefect of the praetorian guard. The Senate flattered and courted him, flocked to his receptions, and insisted on his initiating and confirming all their decrees. He soon, however, became an object of envy and alarm. The consuls ventured on their own authority to employ public servants and the postal diplomata to convey the decrees of the Senate to Galba. Nymphidius was offended because his seal had not been affixed, and the messenger taken from his troops, and the consuls had to apologize. To please the people he caused a number of Nero's favourites, some of them innocent, to be killed, so that not without reason Mauricus expressed a fear that they would soon want Nero back again.

Ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ Νυμφίδιος Σαβῖνος οὐκ ἠρέμα καὶ κατὰ μικρόν, ἀλλὰ συλλήβδην ὁμοῦ πάντα πράγματα φέρων περιήνεγκεν εἰς ἑαυτόν, ὡς Γάλβαν μὲν ὄντα πρεσβύτην καὶ μόλις εἰς Ῥώμην ἐξαρκέσοντα

20. ὁ Ἴκελος, Sol.; Ὀθίκελλος, codd. et i.a.

ΓΑΛΒΑΣ.

Καισάρων ἑστία, τὸ Παλάτιον, ἐν ἐλάσσονι χ
τέσσαρας αὐτοκράτορας ὑπεδέξατο, τὸν μὲν
γόντων ὥσπερ διὰ σκηνῆς, τὸν δ' ἐξαγόντων.
ἦν γε παραμυθία τοῖς κακῶς πάσχουσι μία
δεηθῆναι δίκης ἑτέρας ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλ'
αὐτοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν φονευομένους, πρῶτον δ
δικαιότατα πάντων τὸν δελεάσαντα καὶ διδάξ
τοσοῦτον ἐλπίζειν ἐπὶ μεταβολῇ Καίσαρος,
αὐτὸς ὑπέσχετο, κάλλιστον ἔργον διαβαλὰ
μισθῷ, τὴν ἀπὸ Νέρωνος ἀποστασίαν προδ
γενομένην.

CHAPTER II.

He, being colleague of Tigellinus in the command praetorian guard, by making his soldiers believe that Ne deserted them and fled to Egypt, induced them to proclaim

παρόντος, ἀλλ' ἤδη πεφευγότος, αὐτοκράτορα Γάλβαν ἀναγορεῦσαι, καὶ δωρεὰν ὑπέσχετο κατ' ἄνδρα τοῖς αὐλικοῖς καὶ στρατηγικοῖς προσαγορευομένοις δραχμὰς ἑπτακισχιλίας πεντακοσίας, τοῖς δὲ ἐκτὸς στρατευομένοις πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας ἐπὶ χιλίαις, ὅσον ἀμήχανον ἦν συναγαγεῖν μὴ πλείονα μυριάκις κακὰ παρασχόντα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὧν Νέρων παρέσχε. Τοῦτο γὰρ εὐθὺς μὲν ἀπώλεσε Νέρωνα, μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ Γάλβαν· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ὡς ληψόμενοι προήκαντο, τὸν δὲ μὴ λαμβάνοντες ἀπέκτειναν. Εἶτα τὸν τοσοῦτον δώσοντα ζητοῦντες ἔφθησαν ἐν ταῖς ἀποστάσεσι καὶ προδοσίαις ἀναλώσαντες αὑτοὺς ἢ τυχόντες ὧν ἤλπισαν. Τὰ μὲν οὖν καθ' ἕκαστα τῶν γενομένων ἀπαγγέλλειν ἀκριβῶς τῆς πραγματικῆς ἱστορίας ἐστὶν, ὅσα δὲ ἄξια λόγου τοῖς τῶν Καισάρων ἔργοις καὶ πάθεσι συμπέπτωκεν, οὐδὲ ἐμοὶ προσήκει παρελθεῖν.

CHAPTER III.

Sulpicius Galba was a man of immense wealth, belonging to a noble family. He was fond of recalling his relationship to Lutatius Catulus, and he was a connection of Livia, the wife of Augustus. By her influence he gained the consulship. He distinguished himself as legate of Germany and proconsul of Africa. He was frugal and economical in his habits, and this, when he was emperor, gained him a reputation for meanness. Nero, while still unsuspicious of capable men, and thinking his advanced age and gentle disposition a guarantee, sent him as legate to one of the Spanish provinces.

Γάλβας Σουλπίκιος ὅτι μὲν ἰδιώτης πλουσιώτατος ἁπάντων εἰς τὸν Καισάρων παρῆλθεν οἶκον,

θίου Καλλίστῳ, Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρῳ, γεγενημένην. Ἀλλ' ἦν ἡ πρὸς Γάϊον ἔντευξις αὐτῆς, ὡς ἔοικε, νεωτέρα τῆς Νυμφιδίου γενέσεως, αἰτίαν δὲ ἔσχεν ἐκ Μαρτιανοῦ τοῦ μονομάχου γεγονέναι, τῆς Νυμφιδίας ἐρασθείσης διὰ δόξαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῆς ἰδέας ἐκείνῳ προσήκειν. Ἀλλ' ὁμολογῶν γε Νυμφιδίας εἶναι μητρὸς ἔργον μὲν αὐτοῦ μόνου τὴν Νέρωνος ἐποιεῖτο κατάλυσιν, ἆθλα δὲ αὐτῆς οὐ νομίζων ἱκανὰ καρπούσθαι τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὸ Σπόρῳ τοῦ Νέρωνος συγκαθεύδειν, ὃν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πυρᾶς ἔτι καιομένου τοῦ νεκροῦ μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκεῖνος ἐν γαμετῆς εἶχε τάξει καὶ Ποππαίαν προσηγόρευεν, ἐπὶ τὴν διαδοχὴν παρεδύετο τῆς ἡγεμονίας. Καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν Ῥώμῃ διὰ τῶν φίλων ὑπειργάζετο, καὶ γυναικῶν τινων αὐτῷ καὶ συγκλητικῶν ἀνδρῶν κρύφα συλλαμβανομένων, ἕνα δὲ τῶν φίλων, Γελλιανόν, εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἔπεμψε κατασκεψόμενον.

CHAPTER X.

Meanwhile Galba's prospects were good, although the possibility that Verginius, whose prestige and reputation on account of his victory over Vindex were now second to none, might consent to accept the empire, still caused some anxiety. He, however, consistently adhered to his resolution of awaiting the

---

15. τὸ Σπόρῳ, rest. Bryanus; τῷ Σπόρῳ, codd. et i.a.—18. Ποππαίαν, Cassubon; Πομπαῖον, A. Bod. H. i.a.; Ποππαῖον, vulg.—23. ἔπεμψεν ... καὶ παρείκει, A. Bod. H. i.a.; καὶ παρείκει, del. Sint.; ἔπεμψεν τὰ ἐκεῖ, Grivaeus; ἔπεμψεν τὸν Γάλβαν, ᾧ παρείκοι, coni. Cor.

his friends. Their opinions were divided, but Vinius pointed out that the mere fact of deliberation was treason to Nero, and that he must choose between accepting Vindex's proposal, or taking active steps against him.

Ἐκεῖ δὲ τῶν ἀλιτηρίων ἐπιτρόπων ὡμῶς καὶ ἀγρίως τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἐκείνῳ διαφορούντων ἄλλο μὲν εἶχεν οὐδὲν βοηθεῖν, αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ φανερὸς εἶναι συναλγῶν καὶ συναδικούμενος ἁμῶς γέ πως ἀναπνοήν τινα καὶ παραμυθίαν τοῖς καταδικαζομένοις καὶ πωλουμένοις παρέσχε· καὶ ποιημάτων εἰς Νέρωνα γινομένων καὶ πολλαχοῦ περιφερομένων καὶ ᾀδομένων, οὐκ ἐκώλυεν οὐδὲ συνηγανάκτει τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις· ἐφ' οἷς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠγαπᾶτο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη συνήθης ἔτος ὄγδοον ἐκεῖνο τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων, ἐν ᾧ Ἰούνιος Οὐίνδιξ ἐπανέστη Νέρωνι Γαλατίας ὢν στρατηγός. Λέγεται μὲν οὖν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐμφανοῦς ἀποστάσεως γράμματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ Οὐίνδικος, οἷς μήτε πιστεῦσαι μήτε μηνῦσαι καὶ κατειπεῖν, ὡς ἕτεροι τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῖς γραφείσας ἔπεμψαν πρὸς Νέρωνα καὶ διέφθειραν ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἧς ὕστερον μετασχόντες ὡμολόγησαν αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἢ ἐκείνου προδόται γεγονέναι. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ λαμπρῶς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκφήνας ὁ Οὐίνδιξ ἔγραψε τῷ Γάλβᾳ παρακαλῶν ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν

1. Ἐκεῖ, Sint.; Ἐπεί, Bod. H. a.i., et cett.; ἐπιτρόπων, rest. Xylander; ἐπίτροπος ὤν, Bod. a.i. et cett.—2. ἐκείνῳ, Reisk.; ἐκείνων, Bod. a.i.—3. αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ φανερὸς, rest. Cor. αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ φανερὸς, Bod. H. i.a.—7. φερομένων, Bod.—11. Οὐίνδιξ, Bod. et Steph.; Οὐίνδικος, A. et a.i.

σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἐκέλευε τὸν Οὐεργίνιον δέχεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἢ τὸν σίδηρον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Φάβιος Οὐάλη[illegible] ἄρχων ἑνὸς τάγματος ὥρκωσε πρῶτος εἰς Γάλβαν καὶ γράμματα ἦκεν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης περὶ ὧν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐν[illegible]λεπῶς μὲν καὶ μόλις, ἔπεισε δ' οὖν τοὺ[illegible]ς αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Γάλβαν ἀνειπεῖν· [illegible]τος αὐτοῦ διάδοχον Φλάκκον Ὀρδεώνιον [illegible]Καὶ παραδοὺς ἐκείνῳ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτὸς ἀπ[illegible]τῷ Γάλβᾳ πρόσω χωροῦντι καὶ συνανέστρε[illegible]τε ὀργῆς οὔτε τιμῆς ἐπιδήλου τυγχάνων. Αἴτι[illegible]ὲ τοῦ μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Γάλβας αἰδούμενος τὸν ἄνδρα, τοῦ δὲ οἱ φίλοι καὶ μάλιστα Οὐίνιος Τίτος, ὑπὸ φθόνου τὸν Οὐεργίνιον οἰόμενος μὲν κολούειν, ἠγνόει δὲ ἄρα τῷ Οὐεργινίου χρηστῷ δαίμονι συνεργῶν, ἤδη τὸν ἄνδρα πολέμων καὶ κακῶν, ὅσα τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας κατέσχεν, ἐκτὸς εἰς βίον ἀκύμονα καὶ γῆρας εἰρήνης καὶ ἡσυχίας μεστὸν ὑπεκτιθεμένῳ.

CHAPTER XI.

The emissaries of the Senate found Galba at Narbo, and informed him that the people earnestly desired his presence at Rome. Galba received them courteously, but in the banquet to which he invited them, he declined to use the imperial plate and furniture which Nymphidius had sent him from Nero's palace, and to avoid ostentation contented himself with his own.

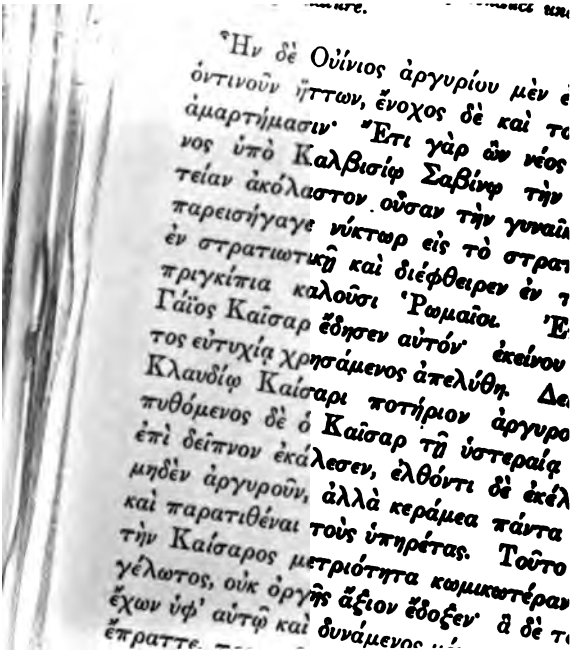
---

23. ἀνειπεῖν, coni. Reisk., εἰπεῖν, codd. et i.a.—29. τὸν Οὐεργίνιον, Cor. τὸν Οὐεργινίου, i.a. et vulg.—30. κολούειν, coni. Sol., κωλύειν, codd. et i.a.

pathy for his victims. The effect on Nero justified the wisdom of Vindex in choosing Galba for his ally. For the emperor, who had despised the Gallic rising, was in consternation at the news of Galba's secession. However, he induced the Senate to declare him a public enemy, and affected to look forward to the booty he would gain from the conquered Gauls, while he ordered Galba's property in Italy to be sold. Galba retaliated by selling Nero's estates in Spain.

Ἐκ τούτου προγράμματι μὲν ἐδήλωσεν ὁ Γάλβας ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἐλευθερώσεις ἀποδώσει τοῖς δεομένοις, λαλιὰ δὲ καὶ φήμη προεκπεσοῦσα πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἤθροισε προθύμων ἐπὶ τὸν νεωτερισμόν. Οὐκ ἔφθη γοῦν φανερὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος γενόμενος καὶ πάντες αὐτὸν ὁμοφώνως αὐτοκράτορα προσεῖπον. Ὁ δὲ τιμὴν μὲν εὐθὺς οὐ προσεδέξατο τὴν προσηγορίαν, κατηγορήσας δὲ τοῦ Νέρωνος καὶ τῶν ἀνῃρημένων ἀνδρῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ὀλοφυράμενος ὡμολόγησεν ἐπιδώσειν τῇ πατρίδι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρόνοιαν, οὔτε Καῖσαρ οὔτ' αὐτοκράτωρ, στρατηγὸς δὲ συγκλήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων ὀνομαζόμενος. Ὅτι δ' ὀρθῶς ὁ Οὐίνδιξ καὶ λελογισμένως ἐξεκαλεῖτο τὸν Γάλβαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἐπιστώσατο μάρτυρι τῷ Νέρωνι. Προσποιούμενος γὰρ ἐκείνου καταφρονεῖν καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ Γαλατῶν, ἅμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τὰ περὶ Γάλβαν (ἔτυχε δὲ λελουμένος καὶ ἀριστῶν) ἀνέτρεψε τὴν τράπεζαν. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συγκλήτου ψηφισαμένης πολέμιον τὸν Γάλβαν αὐτός τε παίζειν καὶ θρασύνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς φίλους βουλόμενος, οὐ

2. ἀποδώσει, Bod. H.



Ἦν δὲ Οὐίνιος ἀργυρίου μὲν ὀ
ὀντινοῦν ἧττων, ἔνοχος δὲ καὶ τα
ἁμαρτήμασιν· Ἔτι γὰρ ὢν νέος
νος ὑπὸ Καλβισίῳ Σαβίνῳ τὴν
τείαν ἀκόλαστον οὖσαν τὴν γυναῖ
παρεισήγαγε νύκτωρ εἰς τὸ στρα
ἐν στρατιωτικῇ καὶ διέφθειρεν ἐν
πριγκίπια καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. Ἐ
Γάϊος Καῖσαρ ἔδησεν αὐτόν· ἐκείνου
τος εὐτυχίᾳ χρησάμενος ἀπελύθη. Δε
Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι ποτήριον ἀργυρο
πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ
ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκάλεσεν, ἐλθόντι δὲ ἐκέλ
μηδὲν ἀργυροῦν, ἀλλὰ κεράμεα πάντα
καὶ παρατιθέναι τοὺς ὑπηρέτας. Τοῦτο
τὴν Καίσαρος μετριότητα κωμικωτέραν
γέλωτος, οὐκ ὀργῆς ἄξιον ἔδοξεν· ἃ δὲ τ
ἔχων ὑφ' αὑτῷ καὶ δυνάμενος
ἔπραττε

CHAPTER XIII.

For Nymphidius on hearing that Cornelius Laco was c pointed his colleague in the prefecture of the praetorian guar and that the influence of Vinius was supreme, saw that he wou himself have no opportunity of ingratiating himself with Gall Accordingly in great alarm he summoned the officers of guard and represented to them that Galba, though unobjecti able in himself, was entirely in the hands of Vinius and La who would soon acquire the power of Tigellinus. To prev this, they should send emissaries from the camp to represent him that he would gain immensely in popularity if these t were discarded. However, his suggestion was not adopted, it seemed absurd to treat an aged emperor like a newly franchised youth. He next attempted to excite Galba's fea by representing to him the unsettled state of the city, the rebelli in Africa, and the disaffection in Germany and the Ea When this also failed, he resolved to strike a blow, encourag by the mocking prediction of a certain Mithridates, that as so as ever the bald and wrinkled emperor should appear, every o would be ashamed of the days during which he had rank among the Caesars.

Ὁ γὰρ Νυμφίδιος εὐθὺς ἐπανελθόντος τοῦ Γε
λιανοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν, ὃν ἔπεμψε τοῦ Γάλβα τρόπ
τινὰ κατάσκοπον, ἀκούσας τῆς μὲν αὐλῆς καὶ τ
δορυφόρων ἔπαρχον ἀποδεδεῖχθαι Κορνήλιον Λ
κωνα, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἶναι τοῦ Οὐινίου κράτος, αὐ
δὲ μηδέποτε τοῦ Γάλβα στῆναι πλησίον ἐγγεγ
νέναι μηδὲ ἐντυχεῖν ἰδίᾳ, πάντων αὐτὸν ὑφορωμέν
καὶ διαφυλαττόντων, ἐθορυβήθη· καὶ συναγαγ
τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ στρατεύματος ἔφη Γάλβαν μ
αὐτὸν εἶναι πρεσβύτην ἐπιεικῆ καὶ μέτριον, ἐλάχισ
δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ χρώμενον λογισμοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐινίου

CHAPTER VII.

About midsummer, however, his freedman Icelus ar from Rome, and forcing his way, in spite of the guards, t chamber where Galba was asleep, he announced that the torian cohorts first and then the Senate and people had claimed Galba emperor. They had done this even before N death was known, but before Icelus had left Rome he had self seen the corpse of the late emperor. This news re Galba, and was confirmed two days later by the arriv Vinius with copies of the several decrees of the Senate. V was promoted to an honourable position, and Icelus rec the equestrian ring and the name of Marcianus.

Ἦν δὲ θέρος ἤδη, καὶ βραχὺ πρὸ δείλης ἧκεν Ῥώμης Ἴκελος ἀνὴρ ἀπελεύθερος ἑβδομαῖος. θόμενος δὲ τὸν Γάλβαν ἀναπαύεσθαι καθ' ἑα ἐβάδιξε συντόνως ἐπὶ τὸ δωμάτιον αὐτοῦ, καὶ

στρατοπέδου μεθ' ἑτέρων ἀφίκετο τὰ δόξαντα τῇ συγκλήτῳ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀπαγγέλλων. Οὗτος μὲν οὖν εἰς τάξιν ἔντιμον προήχθη· τῷ δ' ἀπελευθέρῳ δακτυλίους τε χρυσοῦς ἔδωκε καὶ Μαρκιανὸς ὁ Ἴκελος ἤδη καλούμενος εἶχε τὴν πρώτην ἐν τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις δύναμιν.

CHAPTER VIII.

Meanwhile, at Rome Nymphidius Sabinus, counting on the old age and slow movements of Galba, and on his own long-standing popularity with the praetorian cohorts, at once assumed to himself the sole administration of business. He deposed Tigellinus, gave banquets in the emperor's name to the leading men, and prepared to send emissaries to Galba requesting that he might remain sole prefect of the praetorian guard. The Senate flattered and courted him, flocked to his receptions, and insisted on his initiating and confirming all their decrees. He soon, however, became an object of envy and alarm. The consuls ventured on their own authority to employ public servants and the postal diplomata to convey the decrees of the Senate to Galba. Nymphidius was offended because his seal had not been affixed, and the messenger taken from his troops, and the consuls had to apologize. To please the people he caused a number of Nero's favourites, some of them innocent, to be killed, so that not without reason Mauricus expressed a fear that they would soon want Nero back again.

Ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ Νυμφίδιος Σαβῖνος οὐκ ἠρέμα καὶ κατὰ μικρόν, ἀλλὰ συλλήβδην ὁμοῦ πάντα πράγματα φέρων περιήνεγκεν εἰς ἑαυτόν, ὡς Γάλβαν μὲν ὄντα πρεσβύτην καὶ μόλις εἰς Ῥώμην ἐξαρκέσοντα

20. ὁ Ἴκελος, Sol.; Οὐίκελλος, codd. et i.a.

ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, ἀλλ
θέντες, ὅτι πρῶτος ἡμᾶς ἐγκατ
εἰς Αἴγυπτον. Πότερον οὖν Νέ
σώμεθα καὶ τὸν ἐκ Νυμφιδίας
τὸν ἐκ Διβίας ἀνέλωμεν, ὡς τ
ἀνείλομεν; ἢ τούτῳ δίκην ἐπιθ
τιμωροὶ μὲν Νέρωνος, Γάλβα δὲ
καὶ πιστοὶ φανῶμεν;" Ταῦτα λέγ
προσέθεντο πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται,
προσιόντες ἐμμένειν παρεκάλουν
αὐτοκράτορα πίστει· καὶ τοὺς πλεί
Ἀρθείσης δὲ βοῆς, εἴτε πεισθεὶς
φασιν ἔνιοι, καλεῖν αὐτὸν ἤδη τοὺς σ
προλαβεῖν σπεύδων τὸ θορυβοῦν ἔ
ὑπὸ φωτὶ πολλῷ προῆει, λόγον
βιβλίῳ γεγραμμένον ὑπὸ Κιγγωνί
ἐκμελετήκει πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτι
δὲ κεκλεισμένας τοῦ στρατοπέδου
περὶ τὰ τείχη πολλοὺς ὠπλισμέν
προσιὼν ἠρώτα, τί βούλο
ὧν π

τοντα τῶν Νερωνος ἀποτυμπανίζειν. Σπίκλον μὲν οὖν τὸν μονομάχον ἀνδριάσι Νέρωνος ἑλκομένοις ὑποβαλόντες ἐν ἀγορᾷ διέφθειραν, Ἀπόνιον δέ τινα τῶν κατηγορικῶν ἀνατρέψαντες ἁμάξας λιθοφόρους ἐπήγαγον, ἄλλους δὲ διέσπασαν πολλούς, ἐνίους μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, ὥστε καὶ Μαύρικον, ἄνδρα τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ ὄντα καὶ δοκοῦντα, πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι φοβεῖται, μὴ ταχὺ Νέρωνα ζητήσωσιν.

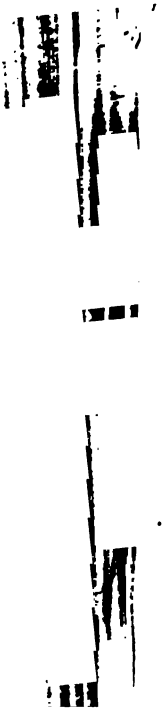
CHAPTER IX.

A report was spread not disagreeable to Nymphidius that he was the son of Caligula by a daughter of Callistus, the freedman of that emperor. Caligula's acquaintance, however, with his mother Nymphidia was subsequent to his birth, and he was more probably the son of Martianus, a popular gladiator. However that may be, Nymphidius claimed the sole merit of deposing Nero, and not content with the wealth and honours which had come to him, nor with the possession of Nero's vile favourite, Sporus, he now meditated an attempt to succeed to the imperial power. He had secret agents at Rome, both men and women of rank, and he sent one of his friends, Gellianus, to observe Galba's movements in Spain.

Οὕτω δὲ προσάγων ὁ Νυμφίδιος ἐγγυτέρω ταῖς ἐλπίσιν οὐκ ἔφευγε Γαΐου Καίσαρος υἱὸς λέγεσθαι τοῦ μετὰ Τιβέριον ἄρξαντος. Ἐγνώκει γὰρ ὁ Γάϊος, ὡς ἔοικε, τὴν τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν ἔτι μειράκιον ὢν οὐκ ἀειδῆ τὴν ὄψιν οὖσαν, ἐκ δ' ἀκεστρίας ἐπιμισ-

38. Μαύρικον, rest. Sint.; Μαύρισκον, codd. et i.a.

5. ἐτιμεθίσν, coni. Sint.; ἐπὶ μισθῷ οὐ, Bod. H. et i.a.; ἐπὶ μισθῷ, vulg. *et novit illam quidem in tabernis medicinariis mercede haud honestissima*, Lat. trans. 1470. unde videtur translator—ἐν ἰατρείοις ἐπὶ μισθῷ οὐ καλλίστῳ—legisse.



ανυμας ουκ ἀσήμους. Ἕτερ
προσεδέχοντο πάντες, ἐξα
τῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ λεγομένων. Ἄ
αὐτοὺς ἀνὴρ ὑπατικὸς καὶ Ν
κελευσθείς, Πετρώνιος Του
γὰρ ἐν Λιβύῃ διὰ Τρεβωνίου
μανίᾳ διὰ Οὐάλεντος ἀνελὼ
ὅπλοις καὶ στρατοπέδοις ὄντ
πιλιανὸν δέ, γέροντα γυμνὸν
μεταλαβεῖν οὐδὲν ἐκώλυεν, εἴ
μετριότητα τοῖς γράμμασιν ἔρ
Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοιαύτας ἔχει
προσιὼν ἀπεῖχε τῆς πόλεως π
σταδίους, ἐνετύγχανεν ἀκοσμίᾳ
ἐρετῶν τὴν ὁδὸν προκατεχόντω
πανταχόθεν. Οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν,
Νέρων συλλοχίσας ἀπέφηνε στ
παρόντες ἐκβεβαιώσασθαι τ

---

3. δι' αὐτῶν, coni. Sol.; δι' αὐτὸν, πιλιανός, rest. Xyl.; Τερπουλιανός, A. I λιανός, Steph. et vulg.—12. Τερβ... codd.

ὀφθῆναι τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν οὔτ' ἀκουσθῆναι παρίεσαν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ἀλλ' ἐθορύβουν βοῇ σημεῖα τῷ τάγματι καὶ χώραν αἰτοῦντες. Ἐκείνου δὲ ὑπερτιθεμένου καὶ πάλιν εἰπεῖν κελεύσαντος, ἀρνήσεως σχῆμα τὴν ἀναβολὴν εἶναι φάσκοντες ἠγανάκτουν καὶ παρείποντο μὴ φειδόμενοι βοῆς. Ἐνίων δὲ καὶ τὰς μαχαίρας σπασαμένων ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Γάλβας. Ὑπέστη δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐκείνων, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀνατραπέντες, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες διεφθάρησαν, οὐ χρηστὸν οὐδὲ αἴσιον ποιοῦντες τῷ Γάλβᾳ τὸν οἰωνὸν εἰσιόντι διὰ πολλοῦ φόνου καὶ νεκρῶν τοσούτων εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Ἀλλ' εἰ καί τις αὐτοῦ κατεφρόνει πρότερον ἀσθενοῦς καὶ γέροντος ὁρωμένου, τότε πᾶσι φρικώδης καὶ φοβερὸς ἐγένετο.

CHAPTER XVI.

Again Galba's desire to reverse the extravagant policy of Nero led him into the opposite fault. Thus all the reward he offered for the services of Canus, a famous musician, was a few gold pieces from his purse. He revoked too the sums of money lavished by Nero on actors and athletes, allowing them to retain only one tenth part, and when he found a difficulty in recovering the money, which indeed was mostly spent, he ordered it to be exacted from those who had purchased or otherwise acquired the property from the original recipients. This caused endless vexation, and made Vinius very unpopular, since he made the emperor mean to others, while he himself enjoyed, and received

---

26. τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, rest. Steph.; ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, codd. et i.a.

τοῦ Νέρωνος ἀποδεικ
μεταβολὴν ἀστοχεῖν ἐδόκει τοῦ πρέπ
γὰρ αὐλήσαντος αὐτῷ παρὰ δεῖπνον (
ὁ Κάνος εὐδοκιμούμενον) ἐπαινέσας καὶ
ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ κομισθῆναι τὸ γλωσ
λαβὼν χρυσοῦς τινας ἐπέδωκε τῷ Κ
τῶν ἰδίων, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χαρίζε
δωρεάς, ἃς Νέρων ἔδωκε τοῖς περὶ σ
λαίστραν, ἀπαιτεῖσθαι συντόνως κελεύ
δεκάτου μέρους, εἶτα μικρὰ καὶ γλίσχρ
(ἀνηλώκεσαν γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν λα
μεροι καὶ σατυρικοὶ τοῖς βίοις ἄνθρωπο
μένους παρ' αὐτῶν ἢ λαβόντας ὁτιοῦν
παρ' ἐκείνων ἐξέπραττε. Τοῦ δὲ πρά
οὐκ ἔχοντος, ἀλλὰ πόρρω νεμομένου κ
ἐπὶ πολλούς, αὐτὸς μὲν ἠδόξει, φθ
μῖσος εἶχεν Οὐίνιος, ὡς τοῖς μὲν ἄλλ
ἀνελεύθερον παρέχων τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ
αὐτὸς δὲ χρώμενος ἀσώτως καὶ λαμβά
καὶ πιπράσκων. Ὁ

Vinius, however, represented this conduct as a mere artifice worthy only of a demagogue, and persuaded him to use Nero's wealth as his own. It was already becoming evident that the old man would be completely under the influence of Vinius.

Γάλβαν δὲ περὶ Νάρβωνα, πόλιν Γαλατικὴν, οἱ παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου πρέσβεις ἐντυχόντες ἠσπάζοντο καὶ παρεκάλουν ἐπιφανῆναι τῷ δήμῳ ποθοῦντι ταχέως. Ὁ δὲ τάς τε ἄλλας παρεῖχεν ἐντεύξεις καὶ συνουσίας αὐτοῖς φιλανθρώπους καὶ δημοτικάς, πρός τε τὰς ἑστιάσεις πολλῆς κατασκευῆς καὶ θεραπείας βασιλικῆς παρούσης, ἣν ἐκ τῶν Νέρωνος ὁ Νυμφίδιος αὐτῷ προσέπεμψεν, οὐδενὶ χρώμενος ἐκείνων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πᾶσιν, εὐδοκίμει, μεγαλόφρων ἀνὴρ καὶ κρείττων ἀπειροκαλίας φαινόμενος. Ταχὺ μέντοι τὰ γενναῖα ταῦτα καὶ ἄτυφα καὶ πολιτικὰ δημαγωγίαν Οὐίνιος ἀποφαίνων καί κομψότητα μεγάλων ἀπαξιοῦσαν αὐτὴν ἔπεισε χρήμασί τε χρῆσθαι τοῖς Νέρωνος καὶ περὶ τὰς ὑποδοχὰς μὴ φείδεσθαι τῆς βασιλικῆς πολυτελείας. Καὶ ὅλως αἴσθησιν αὐτοῦ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπὸ τῷ Οὐινίῳ γενησομένου παρεῖχεν ὁ πρεσβύτης.

CHAPTER XII.

The chief vice of Vinius was avarice, but he was also too susceptible to female charms. In his first campaign as tribune under Calvisius Sabinus he had a disgraceful intrigue with his

---

7. βασιλικῆς, coni. Grivaeus; ἡλικῆς, Bod. H. et i.a.; αὐλικῆς, coni. Sol.; θαυμαστῆς ἡλικῆς, coni. Reisk.—12. μεγάλων, A. Bod. et coni. Sol.; μεγάλῳ, H. i.a.

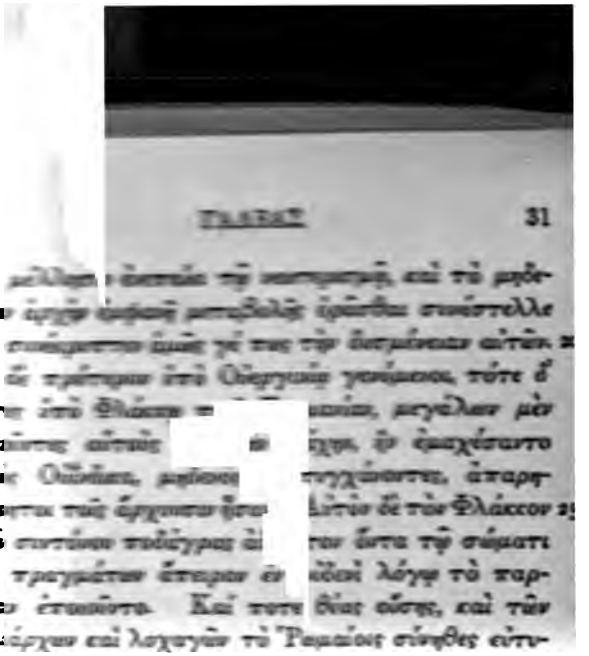
general's wife. Imprisoned for this by Caligula, he was rel by Claudius. One day while dining with that emperor he a silver cup. Claudius merely invited him again and ord him to be served off earthenware, and so the affair ended comedy. But his grasping conduct under Galba led to ri of a tragic nature.

Ἦν δὲ Οὐίνιος ἀργυρίου μὲν ἐσχάτως καὶ ἀ ὀντινοῦν ἥττων, ἔνοχος δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ γυνα ἁμαρτήμασιν· Ἔτι γὰρ ὢν νέος καὶ στρατευκ νος ὑπὸ Καλβισίῳ Σαβίνῳ τὴν πρώτην στ τείαν ἀκόλαστον οὖσαν τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἡγεμ παρεισήγαγε νύκτωρ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσ ἐν στρατιωτικῇ καὶ διέφθειρεν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις πριγκίπια καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ Γάϊος Καῖσαρ ἔδησεν αὐτόν· ἐκείνου δὲ ἀποθα

CHAPTER XIII.

For Nymphidius on hearing that Cornelius Laco was appointed his colleague in the prefecture of the praetorian guard, and that the influence of Vinius was supreme, saw that he would himself have no opportunity of ingratiating himself with Galba. Accordingly in great alarm he summoned the officers of the guard and represented to them that Galba, though unobjectionable in himself, was entirely in the hands of Vinius and Laco, who would soon acquire the power of Tigellinus. To prevent this, they should send emissaries from the camp to represent to him that he would gain immensely in popularity if these two were discarded. However, his suggestion was not adopted, as it seemed absurd to treat an aged emperor like a newly enfranchised youth. He next attempted to excite Galba's fears, by representing to him the unsettled state of the city, the rebellion in Africa, and the disaffection in Germany and the East. When this also failed, he resolved to strike a blow, encouraged by the mocking prediction of a certain Mithridates, that as soon as ever the bald and wrinkled emperor should appear, every one would be ashamed of the days during which he had ranked among the Caesars.

Ὁ γὰρ Νυμφίδιος εὐθὺς ἐπανελθόντος τοῦ Γελλιανοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν, ὃν ἔπεμψε τοῦ Γάλβα τρόπον τινὰ κατάσκοπον, ἀκούσας τῆς μὲν αὐλῆς καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων ἔπαρχον ἀποδεδεῖχθαι Κορνήλιον Λάκωνα, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἶναι τοῦ Οὐινίου κράτος, αὐτῷ δὲ μηδέποτε τοῦ Γάλβα στῆναι πλησίον ἐγγεγονέναι μηδὲ ἐντυχεῖν ἰδίᾳ, πάντων αὐτὸν ὑφορωμένων καὶ διαφυλαττόντων, ἐθορυβήθη· καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ στρατεύματος ἔφη Γάλβαν μὲν αὐτὸν εἶναι πρεσβύτην ἐπιεικῆ καὶ μέτριον, ἐλάχιστα δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ χρώμενον λογισμοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐινίου καὶ



CHAPTER XIX.

Similar movements took place in the army under Vitellius, and as news was sent by the procurators, Galba in alarm determined to adopt a son as successor to the empire. There was a man named Marcus Otho, of good birth, and remarkable even in Rome for his luxury, but best known in connection with the affair of Poppaea. She was the wife of Crispinus, but Nero fell in love with her, and as he feared his mother too much to get rid of his wife Octavia, he entrusted Poppaea to Otho, as his friend. And an intimate friend he was, as his chiding of

---

18. τῷ νεωτερισμῷ, coni. Reisk.; τῶν νεωτερισμῶν, Bod. H. i.a. et vulg.—32. ἀντεφώνουν ἄξιοι, Bod. H. i.; οὐκ ἄξιοι, coni. Steph.] οἱ ἄξιοι, a., *contra clamantibus indignus*, Lat. trans. 1470.

CHAPTER XIV.

And so it was resolved at midnight to proclaim Nymphidius in the camp. But one of the tribunes, Antonius Honoratus, assembled his cohort and reproached them for their fickleness and repeated acts of treason. In the case of Nero there had been some excuse; but Galba had never murdered a mother or a wife, and had never sung or acted on the stage. Even Nero they had really deserted through the false representation of Nymphidius. Was Galba then to be a second victim, or should they punish Nymphidius and protect the emperor they had chosen? These words had their effect, and the majority soon took the same view. A clamour was raised, and Nymphidius either misunderstanding its meaning, or wishing to nip disaffection in the bud, amid the glare of torches approached the camp, with a speech composed by Cingonius Varro in his hand, which he was prepared to deliver. He, however, found the gates shut, and was greeted with shouts in favour of Galba. Joining in these shouts he entered the camp, but was immediately struck with a spear and finally killed. His body was dragged to the middle of the camp and exposed till daylight.

Ἔδοξεν οὖν περὶ μέσας νύκτας εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν παραγαγόντας ἀναδεικνύειν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Νυμφίδιον. Πρῶτος δὲ τῶν χιλιάρχων Ἀντώνιος Ὀνωράτος ἑσπέρας γενομένης τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ στρατιώτας συναγαγὼν ἐκάκιζε μὲν αὐτόν, ἐκάκιζε δὲ ἐκείνους ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τροπὰς τοσαύτας τρεπομένους κατ' οὐδένα λογισμὸν οὐδὲ αἵρεσιν ἀμεινόνων, ἀλλὰ δαίμονός τινος αὐτοὺς ἐκ προδοσίας εἰς προδοσίαν ἐλαύνοντος. Καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα προφάσεις

---

1. τὴν, om. Bod.

ἔχειν τὰ Νέρωνος ἐγκλήματα· νῦν δὲ Γάλβαν τ
διδόναι, τίνα φόνον μητρὸς ἐγκαλοῦντας ἢ σφ
γυναικός, ἢ ποίαν αἰδουμένους θυμέλην ἢ τραγῳ
τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος; "Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ τοῖ
ὑπεμείναμεν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ Νυμφιδίῳ τ
θέντες, ὅτι πρῶτος ἡμᾶς ἐγκατέλιπε καὶ πέφε
εἰς Αἴγυπτον. Πότερον οὖν Νέρωνι Γάλβαν ἐπ
σώμεθα καὶ τὸν ἐκ Νυμφιδίας ἑλόμενοι Καίσ
τὸν ἐκ Διβίας ἀνέλωμεν, ὡς τὸν ἐξ Ἀγριπτ
ἀνείλομεν; ἢ τούτῳ δίκην ἐπιθέντες ὧν δέδ
τιμωροὶ μὲν Νέρωνος, Γάλβα δὲ φύλακες ἀγ
καὶ πιστοὶ φανῶμεν;" Ταῦτα λέγοντι τῷ χιλιά
προσέθεντο πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ τοὺς ἄλ
προσιόντες ἐμμένειν παρεκάλουν τῇ πρὸς
αὐτοκράτορα πίστει· καὶ τοὺς πλείους μετέστη

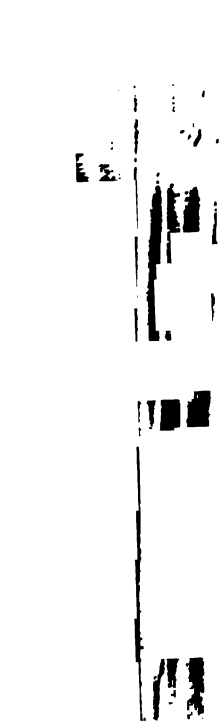
ἐκέλευε. Τῶν δὲ παρὰ τὰς πύλας παρέντων αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν μετ' ὀλίγων αὐτὸς ἀκοντίζεται λόγχῃ· καὶ ταύτην μὲν ἐδέξατο πρὸ αὐτοῦ θυρεῷ Σεπτίμιος, ἄλλων δὲ γυμνοῖς ξίφεσιν ἐπιφερομένων φυγὼν καὶ δωχθεὶς ἐν οἰκήματι στρατιώτου σφάττεται. Καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν εἰς μέσον ἑλκύσαντες καὶ περιβαλόντες κιγκλίδα θέαμα τοῖς βουλομένοις μεθ' ἡμέραν παρέσχον.

CHAPTER XV.

The news of Nymphidius' death was conveyed to Galba, who at once ordered the execution of those of his accomplices who had not made away with themselves. However they may have deserved their fate, Galba's action seemed illegal in putting citizens to death untried. For men had had enough of specious promises, and looked for a reformed régime. The death of Turpilianus was still more unpopular. Unlike Macer and Capito, whose armies might reasonably make them objects of fear, he was an old man and unarmed, and might without danger have been allowed an opportunity of speaking in his own defence. As Galba neared the city he was met by a disorderly crowd of marines who blocked the way. These marines had been formed into a legion by Nero, and they now demanded the confirmation of their superior position and the conferment of an eagle. Taking Galba's postponement of an answer for a refusal, they followed him with shouts, and some even drew their swords. On this Galba ordered his cavalry to charge, and a number were killed—an unfortunate omen to mark his entry into Rome. Contempt for his age was now turned into apprehension of his cruelty.

Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Νυμφιδίου καταστρέψαντος ὁ Γάλβας τυθόμενος καὶ τῶν συνωμοτῶν αὐτοῦ κε-

39. ταύτην, coni. Reisk.; αὐτὴν, codd. et i.a.



τὴν παραφυλάττουσαν ἀεὶ σπεῖραι
ἑκάστῳ διανέμων, οἷς τιμᾶν αὐτὸν
τευόμενος καὶ δημαγωγῶν τὸ στρα

CHAPTER XXI.

*And so, when Galba was looking about fo
suggested Otho, it being understood that (
empire should marry the daughter of Vinin
was considering not his own interests, but
though he would probably never have made
he was with debt, heir even to his private proj
he postponed his decision, and meanwhile c
ship, with Vinius for his colleague.*

Ἀλλ' οὖν βουλευομένου γε το
διαδόχου τὸν Ὄθωνα παρεισῆγεν
τοῦτο προῖκα πράσσων, ἀλλ' ἐ
θυγατρὸς, ὁμολογίας γενομένης γα
Ὄθωνα παῖδα τοῦ Γάλβα καὶ διά

ὀφθῆναι τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν οὔτ' ἀκουσθῆναι παρίεσαν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ἀλλ' ἐθορύβουν βοῇ σημεῖα τῷ τάγματι καὶ χώραν αἰτοῦντες. Ἐκείνου δὲ ὑπερτιθεμένου καὶ πάλιν εἰπεῖν κελεύσαντος, ἀρνήσεως σχῆμα τὴν ἀναβολὴν εἶναι φάσκοντες ἠγανάκτουν καὶ παρείποντο μὴ φειδόμενοι βοῆς. Ἐνίων δὲ καὶ τὰς μαχαίρας σπασαμένων ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Γάλβας. Ὑπέστη δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐκείνων, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀνατραπέντες, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες διεφθάρησαν, οὐ χρηστὸν οὐδὲ αἴσιον ποιοῦντες τῷ Γάλβᾳ τὸν οἰωνὸν εἰσιόντι διὰ πολλοῦ φόνου καὶ νεκρῶν τοσούτων εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Ἀλλ' εἴ καί τις αὐτοῦ κατεφρόνει πρότερον ἀσθενοῦς καὶ γέροντος ὁρωμένου, τότε πᾶσι φρικώδης καὶ φοβερὸς ἐγένετο.

CHAPTER XVI.

Again Galba's desire to reverse the extravagant policy of Nero led him into the opposite fault. Thus all the reward he offered for the services of Canus, a famous musician, was a few gold pieces from his purse. He revoked too the sums of money lavished by Nero on actors and athletes, allowing them to retain only one tenth part, and when he found a difficulty in recovering the money, which indeed was mostly spent, he ordered it to be exacted from those who had purchased or otherwise acquired the property from the original recipients. This caused endless vexation, and made Vinius very unpopular, since he made the emperor mean to others, while he himself enjoyed, and received

---

26. τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, rest. Steph.; ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, codd. et i.a.

and sold at pleasure, acting on Hesiod's precept to drink f of the cask at its commencement and end, considering th his own case there was but a scant interval between the two.

Βουλόμενος δὲ τῆς περὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἀμετρίας πολυτελείας τοῦ Νέρωνος ἀποδεικνύναι μεγα μεταβολὴν ἀστοχεῖν ἐδόκει τοῦ πρέποντος. Κ γὰρ αὐλήσαντος αὐτῷ παρὰ δεῖπνον (ἀκρόαμα ἐ ὁ Κάνος εὐδοκιμούμενον) ἐπαινέσας καὶ ἀποδεξάμ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ κομισθῆναι τὸ γλωσσόκομον· λαβὼν χρυσοῦς τινας ἐπέδωκε τῷ Κάνῳ, φήσα τῶν ἰδίων, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χαρίζεσθαι. Τ δωρεάς, ἃς Νέρων ἔδωκε τοῖς περὶ σκηνὴν καὶ λαίστραν, ἀπαιτεῖσθαι συντόνως κελεύσας πλὴν δεκάτου μέρους, εἶτα μικρὰ καὶ γλίσχρα κομιζόμ (ἀνηλώκεσαν γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν λαβόντων,

CHAPTER XVII.

Not only were the acts of Vinius bad, but he also misrepresented or hindered the good intentions of the emperor. So while several of Nero's favourites were killed, the people in vain demanded the punishment of Tigellinus, Nero's instructor in tyranny. He, good man, had been prudent enough to buy the protection of Vinius, and so, while Turpilianus was killed for the sole crime of not deserting Nero, his corruptor and betrayer survived to be a proof at once of the corruption and power of Vinius. The people, however, desired nothing so much as to see Tigellinus led off to execution, and they continued to demand his punishment in the theatre and circus till Galba rebuked their cruelty by edict. Meanwhile Tigellinus and Vinius laughed at their vexation, and the former invited Vinius to a banquet at which he made magnificent presents to his friend's daughter.

Ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτης ἠδικεῖτο τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τοῦ Οὐινίου κακῶς διοικοῦντος, ἃ δὲ αὐτὸς ὀρθῶς προῃρεῖτο διαβάλλοντος ἢ κωλύοντος· οἷον ἦν τὸ περὶ τὰς κολάσεις τῶν Νερωνιανῶν. Ἀπέκτεινε γὰρ τοὺς πονηρούς, ἐν οἷς ἦν ὁ Ἥλιος καὶ Πολύκλειτος καὶ Πετῖνος καὶ Πατρόβιος. Ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκρότει, καὶ δι' ἀγορᾶς αὐτῶν ἀγομένων ἐβόα καλὴν μὲν εἶναι καὶ θεοφιλῆ πομπήν, ἀπαιτεῖν δὲ καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους τὸν διδάσκαλον καὶ παιδαγωγὸν τῆς τυραννίδος Τιγελλῖνον. Ἐφθάκει δὲ ὁ γενναῖος προειληφὼς ἀρραβῶσι μεγάλοις τὸν Οὐίνιον. Εἶτα Τουρπιλιανὸς μέν, ὅτι μὴ προεδίδου μηδὲ ἐμίσει τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοιοῦτον ὄντα μισούμενος, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲ ἓν

5. Ἥλιος, rest. Sint.; Ἡλεῖος, vulg.—11. μεγάλοις, rest. Steph.; μεγάλαις, Bod. H.; μεγάλας, i.a. et vulg.

μέγα συναδικήσας, ἀπέθανεν· Ὁ δὲ καὶ τοσ
ἄξιον θανάτου Νέρωνα καὶ γενόμενον τοιοί
ἐγκαταλιπὼν καὶ προδοὺς περιῆν, μέγα δίδαγμα
μηδὲν ἄπρακτον εἶναι παρὰ Οὐινίφ μηδὲ ἀνέλπιστ
τοῖς διδοῦσιν. Οὐδενὸς γὰρ οὕτω θεάματος ἐρασ
ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος, ὡς τοῦ Τιγελλῖνον ἰδεῖν ἀπο
μενον, οὐδὲ παυσάμενος ἐν πᾶσι θεάτροις καὶ α
δίοις αἰτούμενος ἐκεῖνον, ἐπεπλήχθη διαγράμματι
αὐτοκράτορος Τιγελλῖνον μὲν οὐ πολὺν ἔτι βιώ
θαι φάσκοντος χρόνον ὑπὸ φθινάδος νόσου δαπα
μενον, ἐκείνους δὲ παραιτουμένου μὴ διαγρια
μηδὲ τυραννικὴν ποιεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. Ἀχθομ
δὲ τοῦ δήμου καταγελῶντες ὁ μὲν Τιγελλῖνος εἰ
σωτήρια καὶ παρεσκεύασε λαμπρὰν ἑστίασιν,
Οὐίνιος ἀναστὰς παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος μ

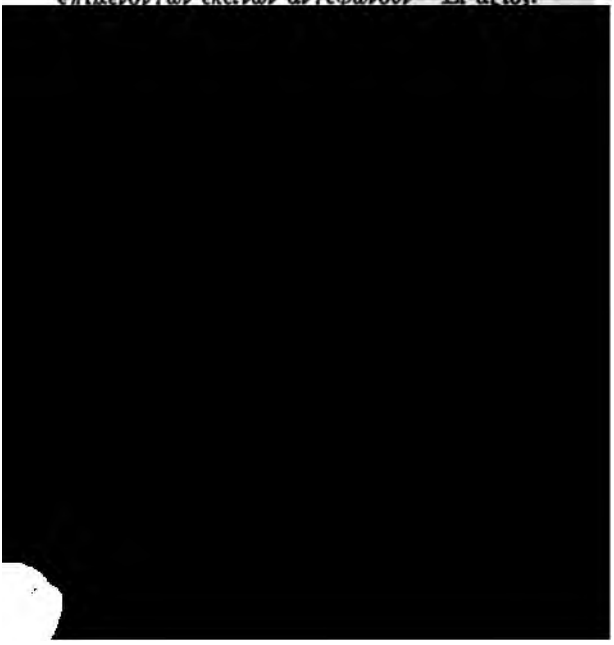
own grievance, having received no portion of the money promised by Nymphidius. Their discontent became hatred when Galba said that he was in the habit of enlisting soldiers not buying them. But in Rome the movement was still without aim, and without a leader, while Galba's presence still inspired some respect. But the legions of Verginius were mutinously inclined, because their services against Vindex had received no recognition, while their new general, Flaccus, had no control over them. When their officers at some military spectacle bade them wish good luck to their emperor, they added the qualification, "If he deserves it."

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ τὰ μετρίως πραττόμενα διαβολὴν εἶχεν, ὡς τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας Οὐϊνδικι συναραμένους. Ἐδόκουν γὰρ οὐ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ἀλλὰ ὠνούμενοι παρὰ Οὐινίου τυγχάνειν ἀνέσεώς τε δασμῶν καὶ πολιτείας. Οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ διὰ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπηχθάνοντο, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας τὴν δωρεὰν μὴ κομιζομένους ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἐλπὶς παρῆγεν, ὡς, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοσοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὅσον Νέρων ἔδωκεν, ἀποδώσοντος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μεμφομένους ἀκούσας ἀφῆκε φωνὴν ἡγεμόνι μεγάλῳ πρέπουσαν, εἰπὼν εἰωθέναι καταλέγειν στρατιώτας, οὐκ ἀγοράζειν, πυθομένοις τοῦτο δεινὸν εἰσῆλθε μῖσος καὶ ἄγριον πρὸς αὐτόν. Ἐδόκει γὰρ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀποστερεῖν μόνος, ἀλλὰ νομοθετεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν τοὺς μεθ' αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορας. Ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τυφλὸν ἦν ἔτι κίνημα, καί τις αἰδὼς ἅμα πρὸς παρόντα τὸν Γάλβαν ἀμβλύτητα

---

2. τοῦτ, om. Bod.—16. τῶν μὲν, Bod. H. et coni. Reisk.; τὰ μὲν, A. et i.a.

καὶ μέλλησιν ἐνεποίει τῷ νεωτερισμῷ, καὶ τὸ μ
μίαν ἀρχὴν ἐμφανῆ μεταβολῆς ὁρᾶσθαι συνέστη
καὶ συνέκρυπτεν ἀμῶς γέ πως τὴν δυσμένειαν αὐ
Οἱ δὲ πρότερον ὑπὸ Οὐεργινίῳ γενόμενοι, τότ
ὄντες ὑπὸ Φλάκκῳ περὶ Γερμανίαν, μεγάλων
ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν μάχην, ἣν ἐμαχέσα
πρὸς Οὐίνδικα, μηδενὸς δὲ τυγχάνοντες, ἀπ
γόρητοι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἦσαν. Αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Φλά
ὑπὸ συντόνου ποδάγρας ἀδύνατον ὄντα τῷ σώ
καὶ πραγμάτων ἄπειρον ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τὸ
ἅπαν ἐποιοῦντο. Καί ποτε θέας οὔσης, καὶ
χιλιάρχων καὶ λοχαγῶν τὸ Ῥωμαίοις σύνηθες ε
χίαν ἐπευχομένων τῷ αὐτοκράτορι Γάλβᾳ, διεθ
βησαν οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα ταῖς εὐ
ἐπιμενόντων ἐκείνων ἀντεφώνουν "Εἰ ἄξιος."



the emperor's economy proves, as well as a practical lesson he gave him in free-handed magnificence. However, in the matter of Poppaea he betrayed his friend the emperor, married Poppaea, and objected to Nero's visits. Poppaea herself was not loath to see her lovers disagree, and, as some say, preferred Nero as a lover to Nero as a husband. Otho's life in consequence was in some danger, and considering the fate of the emperor's wife and mother, it is somewhat surprising that he escaped.

Τοιαῦτα δὲ ἕτερα καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Οὐιτελλίῳ ταγμάτων ὑβριζόντων πολλάκις ἐπέμπετο γράμματα τῷ Γάλβᾳ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων· ὁ δὲ φοβηθεὶς, ὡς μὴ μόνον διὰ τὸ γῆρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπαιδίαν καταφρονούμενος, ἐβουλεύετο παῖδα θέσθαι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τινα νεανίσκον καὶ διάδοχον ἀποδεῖξαι τῆς ἀρχῆς. Ἦν δὲ Μάρκος Ὄθων, ἀνὴρ γένει μὲν οὐκ ἀφανής, τρυφῇ δὲ καὶ φιληδονίαις εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων ἐν ὀλίγοις Ῥωμαίων διεφθαρμένος, ὡς δὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον Ὅμηρος Ἑλένης πόσιν ἠϋκόμοιο, μηδὲν ἔχοντα πρὸς δόξαν ἄλλο σεμνύνων ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικός, ὀνομάζει πολλάκις, οὕτως γεγονὼς περιβόητος ἐν Ῥώμῃ διὰ τὸν Ποππαίας γάμον, ἧς ἦρα μὲν ὁ Νέρων Κριστίνῳ συνούσης, ἔτι δ' αἰδούμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν μητέρα φοβούμενος ὑφῆκε τὸν Ὄθωνα πειρῶντα τὴν Ποππαίαν. Φίλῳ δὲ τῷ Ὄθωνι καὶ συμβιωτῇ διὰ τὴν ἀσωτίαν ἐχρῆτο, καὶ σκωπτόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολλάκις εἰς μικρολογίαν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν ἔχαιρε. Λέγεται δέ ποτε

1. ὑπὸ Τιγελλίνῳ, omn. quibus praerat Tigellinus, Lat. trans. 1470.

προσειπόντας αὐτοκράτορά φασι μὴ πλείους τριῶν καὶ εἴκοσι γενέσθαι. Διὸ, καίπερ οὐ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος μαλακίαν καὶ θηλύτητα τῇ ψυχῇ διατεθρυμμένος, ἀλλὰ ἰταμὸς ὢν πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ καὶ ἄτρεπτος, ἀπεδειλίασεν. Οἱ δὲ παρόντες οὐκ εἴων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ξίφεσι γυμνοῖς περιῴοντες αὐτοῦ τὸ φορεῖον ἐκέλευον αἴρεσθαι, παραφθεγγομένου πολλάκις ἀπολωλέναι καὶ τοὺς φορειαφόρους ἐπιταχύνοντος. Ἐξήκουον γὰρ ἔνιοι θαυμάζοντες μᾶλλον ἢ ταραττόμενοι διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν ἀποτετολμημένων. Φερομένῳ δὲ οὕτω δι' ἀγορᾶς ἀπήντησαν **ἕτεροι τοσοῦτοι, καὶ πάλιν κατὰ τρεῖς καὶ τέτταρας** ἄλλοι προσεπέλαζον. Εἶτα συνανέστρεφον ἅπαντες ἀνακαλούμενοι Καίσαρα καὶ γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη προϊσχόμενοι. Τῶν δὲ χιλιάρχων ὁ τὴν φυλακὴν ἔχων τοῦ στρατοπέδου Μαρτίαλις, ὥς φασι, μὴ συνειδώς, ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ τῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ καὶ φοβηθεὶς ἐφῆκεν εἰσελθεῖν. Γενομένῳ δὲ ἐντὸς οὐδεὶς ἀντέπεσεν. Οἱ γὰρ ἀγνοοῦντες τὰ πραττόμενα τοῖς εἰδόσι καὶ συνεστῶσιν ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἐμπεριεχόμενοι καθ' ἕνα καὶ δύο σποράδες ὑπὸ δέους τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα πεισθέντες ἐπηκολούθησαν. Εἰς δὲ τὸ Παλάτιον εὐθὺς μὲν ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Γάλβᾳ παρόντος ἔτι τοῦ θύτου καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐν χερσὶν ὄντων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πάνυ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα δυσπειθῶς καὶ ἀτενῶς ἔχοντας ἐκπλήττεσθαι καὶ θαυμάζειν τὸ θεῖον· ὄχλου δὲ

4. τῇ ψυχῇ, Cor.; τῆς ψυχῆς, codd. i.a. et vulg.—17. Martialis, rest. Sint.; Μαρτιάλιος, codd. i.a. et vulg.—18. ἐφῆκεν, ni Reimanus; ἀφῆκεν, codd. i.a.—26. ἀτενῶς, coni. Wyttenbach, Bod. H. i.a. vulg.

παντοδαποῦ συρρέοντος ἐξ ἀγορᾶς, αὐτῷ μὲν Οὐίνιος καὶ Δάκων καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἔνιοι γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη προϊσχόμενοι παρέστησαν, ὁ δὲ Πείσων προελθὼν τοῖς φυλάττουσι τὴν αὐλὴν δορυφόροις ἐνετύγχανε. Τοῦ δ' Ἰλλυρικοῦ τάγματος ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ παστάδι Βιψανίᾳ στρατοπεδεύοντος ἀπεστάλη Μάριος Κέλσος, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, προκατα-
35 ληψόμενος.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Vinius wished Galba to remain in the Palace, Icelus and Laco advised him to go out. While they were disputing on this point the report came that Otho was killed, and soon a soldier appeared with reeking sword claiming to have done the deed. "Who ordered you," asked Galba, but the crowd shouted approval, and Galba was hurried into the Forum. Here news came that Otho was master of the camp. Panic and confusion followed. Some were for advancing, others for returning, and the litter swayed like a ship at sea. Then some soldiers appeared passing through the Basilica Pauli, and shouting "Down with the usurper." The Forum was speedily cleared, as the crowd rushed to the basilicas to get a view of the approaching tragedy. Galba's image was thrown down, and an attack was made on the litter. Only one man, Sempronius Densus, attempted to defend the emperor, and he, after a brave resistance, was at last cut down.

Βουλευομένου δὲ τοῦ Γάλβα προελθεῖν, καὶ Οὐινίου μὲν οὐκ ἐῶντος, Κέλσου δὲ καὶ Δάκωνος παρορμώντων καὶ σφοδρότερον τοῦ Οὐινίου καθαπ-

33. Βιψανίᾳ, rest. Sol.; Βαψανίᾳ, Bod. i.a.

τομένων, θροῦς διῆλθε πολύς, ὡς ἀνῃρημένου τοῦ Ὄθωνος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ὤφθη Ἰούλιος Ἄττικος τῶν οὐκ ἀσήμων ἐν τοῖς δορυφόροις στρατευόμενος γυμνῷ τῷ ξίφει προσφερόμενος καὶ βοᾶν ἀνῃρηκέναι τὸν Καίσαρος πολέμιον· ὡσάμενος δὲ διὰ τῶν προεστώτων ἔδειξε τῷ Γάλβᾳ τὸ ξίφος ἡμαγμένον. Ὁ δὲ βλέψας πρὸς αὐτόν "Τίς σε" εἶπεν "ἐκέλευσε;" Τοῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου τὴν πίστιν ἐπόντος καὶ τὸν ὅρκον, ὃν ὤμοσε, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιβοῶντος, ὡς εὖ, καὶ κροτοῦντος, ἐμβὰς εἰς τὸ φορεῖον ἐκομίζετο τῷ τε Διὶ θῦσαι καὶ φανῆναι τοῖς πολίταις βουλόμενος. Ἐμβαλόντος δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, ὥσπερ τροπαία πνεύματος, ἀπήντησε φήμη κρατεῖν τὸν Ὄθωνα τοῦ στρατεύματος. Οἷα δὲ ἐν πλήθει τοσούτῳ, τῶν μὲν ἀναστρέφειν, τῶν δὲ προϊέναι, τῶν δὲ θαρρεῖν, τῶν δὲ ἀπιστεῖν βοώντων, καὶ τοῦ φορείου, καθάπερ ἐν κλύδωνι, ἀείρο κἀκεῖ διαφερομένου καὶ πυκνὸν ἀπονεύοντος, ἐφαίνοντο πρῶτον ἱππεῖς, εἶτα ὁπλῖται διὰ τῆς Παύλου βασιλικῆς προσφερόμενοι, μιᾷ φωνῇ μέγα βοῶντες ἐκτοδὼν ἵστασθαι τὸν ἰδιώτην. Τῶν μὲν οὖν πολλῶν δρόμος ἦν, οὐ φυγῇ σκιδναμένων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰς στοὰς καὶ τὰ μετέωρα τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὥσπερ θέαν καταλαμβανόντων. Ἀτιλλίου δὲ Βεργελίωνος εἰκόνα Γάλβα προσουδίσαντος ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου ποιησάμενοι περικόντισαν τὸ φορεῖον· ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔτυχον αὐτοῦ, πρυσῆγον ἐσπασμένοις τοῖς ξίφεσιν.

---

6. Ἄττικος, rest. Xyl.; Ἀττίκιος, vulg.—27. Ἀτιλλίου δὲ Βεργελίωνος, rest. Sint.; Αἰτιλλίου δὲ Σερκέλλωνος, Bod. H. i.a.

ἀκόλαστον εἰδὼς καὶ πολυτελῆ καὶ πεντακισχιλίων μυριάδων ὀφλήμασι βεβαπτισμένον. Ὅθεν ἀκούσας τοῦ Οὐινίου σιωπῇ καὶ πράως ὑπερέθετο τὴν διάθεσιν. Ἀποδείξας δ' αὐτὸν ὕπατον καὶ συνάρχοντα τὸν Οὐίνιον ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἔτους ἀρχῇ τὸν διάδοχον ἀναγορεύσειν. Καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἡδέως εἶχε τὸν Ὄθωνα παρ' ὀντινοῦν ἄλλον ἀναγορευθῆναι.

CHAPTER XXII.

Whilst he was still hesitating, the German rising was announced. The German legions had special grievances of their own; the recall of Verginius, the rewards given to the Gauls who had joined Vindex, the punishment of those who had stood by them. They complained, too, of the honours paid by Galba to the memory of Vindex. These murmurs were circulating when Flaccus summoned his troops to take the usual oath on Jan. 1. Instead of doing so, they threw down Galba's images, and took the oath to the Senate. The officers feared anarchy as the result of this, and one of them urged the advisability of offering their services to make Vitellius emperor, a man who derived prestige from his father's career, and whose poverty was a proof of his honesty. By this course they would assert their rights against the Spanish provinces to whom Galba owed his promotion. All this was reported by a standard-bearer to Vitellius, on which Fabius Valens proclaimed Vitellius imperator. He now accepted what previously he had been disposed to refuse, and allowed himself to be called Germanicus, though the title of Caesar he declined. After this the army of Hordeonius Flaccus also took the oath to Vitellius.

Καταλαμβάνει δ' αὐτὸν ἔτι μέλλοντα καὶ βουλευόμενον ἐκραγέντα τὰ Γερμανικά. Κοινῇ γὰρ

14. αὐτὸν, Xyl.; αὐτὸν, vulg.

ἅπαντες οἱ στρατευόμενοι τὸν Γάλβαν ἐμίσουν ο
ἀποδιδόντα τὴν δωρεάν, ἰδίας δὲ ἐκεῖνοι προφάσ
ἐποιοῦντο Οὐεργινιόν τε Ῥοῦφον ἀπερριμμέν
ἀτίμως καὶ Γαλατῶν τοὺς πολεμήσαντας αὐτ
δωρεῶν τυγχάνοντας, ὅσοι δὲ μὴ προσέθεν
Οὐϊνδικι κολαζομένους, ᾧ μόνῳ τὸν Γάλβαν χά
εἰδέναι καὶ τιμᾶν τεθνηκότα καὶ γεραίρειν δημοσί
ἐναγισμοῖς, ὡς ὑπ' ἐκείνου Ῥωμαίων ἀποδεδειγμέ
αὐτοκράτορα. Τοιούτων ἀναφανδὸν ἤδη λόγων
τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περιφερομένων ἐπῆλθεν ἡ ν
μηνία τοῦ πρώτου μηνός, ἣν καλάνδας Ἰανουαρ
καλοῦσι· τοῦ δὲ Φλάκκου συναγαγόντος αὐτοὺς
τὸν ὅρκον, ὃν ἔθος ἐστὶν ὀμνύειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτ
ράτορος, τὰς μὲν εἰκόνας τοῦ Γάλβα προσελθόν
ἀνέτρεψαν καὶ κατέσπασαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὀμόσαν

τὸν Ὄθωνα δωρεὰς αἰτοῦντες. Ὡς δέ φησιν Ἀρχίλοχος·

ἐπτὰ γὰρ νεκρῶν πεσόντων, οὓς ἐμάρψαμεν ποσὶν
χίλιοι φονῆες ἐσμέν·

οὕτως τότε πολλοὶ τοῦ φόνου μὴ συνεφαψάμενοι, χεῖρας δὲ καὶ ξίφη καθαιμάσσοντες ἐπεδείκνυντο καὶ δωρεὰς ἤτουν βιβλία διδόντες τῷ Ὄθωνι. Εἴκοσι γοῦν καὶ ἑκατὸν εὑρέθησαν ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν γραμματίων, οὓς ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος ἀναζητήσας ἅπαντας ἀπέκτεινεν. Ἦκε δὲ καὶ Μάριος Κέλσος εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν. Καὶ πολλῶν αὐτοῦ κατηγορούντων, ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἔπειθε τῷ Γάλβᾳ βοηθεῖν, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἀποκτιννύειν βοῶντος, Ὄθων οὐκ ἐβούλετο· φοβούμενος δὲ ἀντιλέγειν οὐχ οὕτως ἔφη ταχέως ἀποκτενεῖν αὐτόν· εἶναι γὰρ ἃ δεῖ πρότερον ἐκπυθέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός. Ἐκέλευσεν οὖν δήσαντας φυλάττειν καὶ παρέδωκε τοῖς μάλιστα πιστευομένοις.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Senate was convoked, the oath to Otho duly taken, and the titles of Caesar and Augustus conferred on him. The head of Vinius was sold to his daughter, that of Piso was received by his wife, while Galba's was taken by the slaves of Patrobius, and insultingly thrown down at the Sessorium or place of execution. His body was taken up by Helvidius Priscus and buried at night by his freedman Argeius.

Εὐθὺς δὲ βουλὴ συνεκαλεῖτο. Καὶ καθάπερ ἄλλοι γεγονότες ἢ θεῶν ἄλλων γεγονότων συνελθόντες

2 γεγονότων, Bod.; γεγενῆσθαι, vulg.

τεκμαιρόμενοι καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ τὸ τηλικαύτην χάριν ἀνεμπλήκτως, οὐ μὴν ἀναισθήτως δεχόμενον, ὥσπερ αὖ τοῦ Ὄθωνος ἐπεφαίνετο πολλὰ σημεῖα τῇ μορφῇ πικρῶς καὶ σὺν ὀργῇ τῆς ἐλπίδος τὴν ἀπότευξιν φέροντος, ἧς πρῶτος ἀξιωθεὶς καὶ τοῦ τυχεῖν ἐγγυτάτω γενόμενος τὸ μὴ τυχεῖν ἐποιεῖτο σημεῖον ἔχθους ἅμα καὶ κακονοίας τοῦ Γάλβα πρὸς αὐτόν. Ὅθεν οὐδὲ ἄφοβος ἦν περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Πείσωνα δεδιὼς καὶ τὸν Γάλβαν προβαλλόμενος καὶ τῷ Οὐινίφ χαλεπαίνων ἀπῄει πολλῶν παθῶν πλήρης. Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ ἐλπίζον ἐκλιπεῖν οὐδὲ ἀπαγορεῦσαι παντάπασιν εἴων οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντες ἀεὶ μάντεις καὶ Χαλδαῖοι, εἰς τὰ μάλιστα δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ἰσχυριζόμενος τῷ προειπεῖν πολλάκις, ὡς οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖ Νέρων αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τεθνήξεται πρότερος, αὐτὸς δὲ περιέσται καὶ ἄρξει Ῥωμαίων· ἐκεῖνο γὰρ ἀληθὲς ἀποδείξας ἠξίου μηδὲ ταῦτα ἀπελπίζειν· οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' οἱ συναχθόμενοι κρύφα καὶ συνεπιστένοντες ὡς ἀχάριστα πεπονθότι· πλεῖστοι δὲ τῶν περὶ Τιγελλῖνον καὶ Νυμφίδιον ἐν τιμῇ γεγονότων ἀπερριμμένοι τότε καὶ ταπεινὰ πράττοντες ἐφθείροντο πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ συνηγανάκτουν καὶ παρώξυνον.

CHAPTER XXIV.

In particular Veturius and Barbius, two soldiers of the praetorian guard, aided by Onomastus, a freedman, proceeded to corrupt the rest. They were helped by the existing discontent, for a loyal army could never have been won over in four days.

and it was on the sixth day from the adoption that Galba w killed. On Jan. 15, when Galba was sacrificing, the victi portended treachery and imminent danger. Otho, standing l changed colour in alarm, but was called away by a freedm on pretence of examining a newly purchased house. This w the signal agreed upon with the soldiers, and Otho hurried the golden milestone in the Forum.

Ἐν δὲ τούτοις Οὐετούριος καὶ Βάρβιος, ὁ μ ὀπτίων, ὁ δὲ τεσσεράριος· οὕτω γὰρ καλοῦνται διαγγέλων καὶ διοπτήρων ὑπηρεσίας τελοῦντ Μεθ' ὧν Ὄθωνος ἀπελεύθερος Ὀνόμαστος ἐπιφ τῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀργυρίῳ τοὺς δὲ ἐλπίσι. διέφθειρ ἤδη σαθροὺς ὄντας καὶ δεομένους προφάσεως. (γὰρ ἦν ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων ἔργον ὑγιαίνοντος στρ τοπέδου μεταστῆσαι πίστιν, ὅσαι μεταξὺ τῆς αὐ

τοῦ θεοῦ χειρὶ λῃστὸν παραδιδόντος. Παρῆν γὰρ ὄπισθεν τοῦ Γάλβα καὶ προσείχε τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ δεικνυμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀμβρικίου. Θορυβουμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρόας ἀμείβοντι παντοδαπὰς ὑπὸ δέους παραστὰς Ὀνόμαστος ἀπελεύθερος ἤκειν ἔφη καὶ περιμένειν αὐτὸν οἵκοι τοὺς ἀρχιτέκτονας. Ἦν δὲ σύμβολον καιροῦ, πρὸς ὃν ἔδει ἀπαντῆσαι τὸν Ὄθωνα τοῖς στρατιώταις. Εἰπὼν οὖν, ὅτι παλαιὰν ὠνημένος οἰκίαν βούλεται τὰ ὕποπτα δεῖξαι τοῖς πωληταῖς, ἀπῆλθε, καὶ διὰ τῆς Τιβερίου καλουμένης οἰκίας καταβὰς ἐβάδιζεν εἰς ἀγοράν, οὗ χρυσοῦς εἱστήκει κίων, εἰς ὃν αἱ τετμημέναι τῆς Ἰταλίας ὁδοὶ πᾶσαι τελευτῶσιν.

CHAPTER XXV.

There he was saluted emperor by no more than twenty-three soldiers. In spite of his natural bravery he shrank from the enterprise, but his supporters with drawn swords compelled him to proceed in his litter, exclaiming again and again that he was lost. Others joined him in twos and threes as he passed, all loudly proclaiming him Caesar. At the camp Martialis, the tribune on duty, in the confusion of the moment opened the gate, and then there was no more opposition, for those who were ignorant of the scheme, finding themselves in the middle of its supporters, at once came over. News immediately reached the Palace, and caused consternation there. Vinius and Laco prepared for defence: Piso attempted to secure the cohort on guard in the Palace, while Marius Celsus hurried to the Illyrian troops in the porticus Agrippae.

Ἐνταῦθα τοὺς πρώτους ἐκδεξαμένους αὐτὸν καὶ

27. πωληταῖς, rest. Sol.; πολίταις, Bod. H. i.a.; *civibus ostendere*, Lat. trans. 1470.

παντοδαποῦ συρρέοντος ἐξ ἀγορᾶς, αὐτῷ μὲν Οὐίνιος καὶ Λάκων καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἔνιοι γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη προϊσχόμενοι παρέστησαν, ὁ δὲ Πείσων προελθὼν τοῖς φυλάττουσι τὴν αὐλὴν δορυφόροις ἐνετύγχανε. Τοῦ δ' Ἰλλυρικοῦ τάγματος ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ παστάδι Βιψανίᾳ στρατοπεδεύοντος ἀπεστάλη Μάριος Κέλσος, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, προκατα-
35 ληψόμενος.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Vinius wished Galba to remain in the Palace, Icelus and Laco advised him to go out. While they were disputing on this point the report came that Otho was killed, and soon a soldier appeared with reeking sword claiming to have done the deed. "Who ordered you," asked Galba, but the crowd shouted approval, and Galba was hurried into the Forum. Here news came that Otho was master of the camp. Panic and confusion followed. Some were for advancing, others for returning, and the litter swayed like a ship at sea. Then some soldiers appeared passing through the Basilica Pauli, and shouting "Down with the usurper." The Forum was speedily cleared, as the crowd rushed to the basilicas to get a view of the approaching tragedy. Galba's image was thrown down, and an attack was made on the litter. Only one man, Sempronius Densus, attempted to defend the emperor, and he, after a brave resistance, was at last cut down.

Βουλευομένου δὲ τοῦ Γάλβα προελθεῖν, καὶ Οὐινίου μὲν οὐκ ἐῶντος, Κέλσου δὲ καὶ Λάκωνος παρορμώντων καὶ σφοδρότερον τοῦ Οὐινίου καθαπ-

33. Βιψανίᾳ, rest. Sol.; Βαψανίᾳ, Bod. i.a.

τομένων, θροῦς διῆλθε πολύς, ὡς ἀνῃρημένου τοῦ
Ὄθωνος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ὤφθη
Ἰούλιος Ἄττικος τῶν οὐκ ἀσήμων ἐν τοῖς δορυφό-
ροις στρατευόμενος γυμνῷ τῷ ξίφει προσφερόμενος
καὶ βοῶν ἀνῃρηκέναι τὸν Καίσαρος πολέμιον·
ὡσάμενος δὲ διὰ τῶν προεστώτων ἔδειξε τῷ Γάλβᾳ
τὸ ξίφος ἡμαγμένον. Ὁ δὲ βλέψας πρὸς αὐτόν·
"Τίς σε" εἶπεν "ἐκέλευσε;" Τοῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου τὴν
πίστιν εἰπόντος καὶ τὸν ὅρκον, ὃν ὤμοσε, καὶ τοῦ
πλήθους ἐπιβοῶντος, ὡς εὖ, καὶ κροτοῦντος, ἐμβὰς
εἰς τὸ φορεῖον ἐκομίζετο τῷ τε Διὶ θῦσαι καὶ φα-
νῆναι τοῖς πολίταις βουλόμενος. Ἐμβαλόντος δ
εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, ὥσπερ τροπαία πνεύματος, ἀπήντησ
φήμη κρατεῖν τὸν Ὄθωνα τοῦ στρατεύματος
Οἷα δὲ ἐν πλήθει τοσούτῳ, τῶν μὲν ἀναστρέφει

Ἥμυνε δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ ὑπέστη πλὴν ἑνὸς ἀνδρός, ὃν μόνον ἥλιος ἐπεῖδεν ἐν μυριάσι τοσαύταις ἄξιον τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας· Σεμπρώνιος ἦν Δῆνσος ἑκατοντάρχης, οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ χρηστὸν ὑπὸ Γάλβα πεπονθώς, τῷ δὲ καλῷ καὶ τῷ νόμῳ βοηθῶν προέστη τοῦ φορείου. Καὶ τὸ κλῆμα πρῶτον, ᾧ κολάζουσιν ἑκατοντάρχαι τοὺς πληγῶν δεομένους, ἐπαράμενος τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις ἐβόα καὶ διεκελεύετο φείδεσθαι τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. Ἔπειτα συμπλεκομένων αὐτῷ σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἠμύνατο πολὺν χρόνον, ἕως τυφθεὶς τὰς ἰγνύας ἔπεσε.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Galba was then thrown out of his litter near the Curtian Lake and covered with wounds. The final blow was struck by Camurius, a legionary. The head was cut off, put upon a spear, and then carried round the city by the furious soldiery. Otho, however, was not satisfied without the head of Piso, who was killed at the temple of Vesta. Vinius, too, was murdered and Laco, the former exclaiming that he too had joined the conspiracy against Galba. As many as 120 petitions were afterwards found sent in by those who claimed to have perpetrated one or other of these murders. Marius Celsus was demanded by the troops, as a friend of Galba, but Otho, under pretence of getting further information from him, saved his life by putting him in prison.

Τὸν δὲ Γάλβαν ἀποκλιθέντος τοῦ φορείου περὶ τὸν Κουρτίου καλούμενον λάκκον ἐκκυλισθέντα

---

33. Σεμπρώνιος, Bod.—ἦν Δῆνσος, rest. Sint.; ὕδρισος, codd. et i.a. et vulg.—41. ὑφεὶς, Bod. H. a.

μιος τις ἐκ τοῦ πεντεκαιδεκάτου
δὲ Τερέντιον, οἱ δὲ Λεκάνιον
Φάβιον Φάβουλον, ὃν καί φασιν
κεφαλὴν κομίζειν τῷ ἱματίῳ συλλ
ψιλότητα δυσπερίληπτον οὖσαν·
αὐτῷ κρύπτειν οὐκ ἐώντων, ἀλλ' ἐκφ
τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν, περιπείραντα π
ἀνατήλαντα πρεσβύτου πρόσωπον
κοσμίου καὶ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ὑπάτου
ὥσπερ αἱ βάκχαι, πολλάκις μεταστ
κραδαίνοντα τὴν λόγχην αἵματι κ
Τὸν δ' Ὄθωνα, τῆς κεφαλῆς κομισθείσ
λέγουσιν "Οὐδέν ἐστι τοῦτο, ὦ συστ
Πείσωνός μοι κεφαλὴν δείξατε." Με
ἦκε κομιζομένη· τρωθεὶς γὰρ ἔφευγε
καὶ καταδιωχθεὶς ὑπὸ Μούρκου τιν
πρὸς τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἑστίας. Ἀπεσφά
Οὔϊνιος ὁμολογῶν κοινωνός γεγονέναι
Γάλβαν συνωμοσίας· ἐβόα γὰρ
τὴν Ὄθωνος

τὸν Ὄθωνα δωρεὰς αἰτοῦντες. Ὡς δέ φησιν Ἀρχίλοχος·

ἐπτὰ γὰρ νεκρῶν πεσόντων, οὓς ἐμάρψαμεν ποσὶν χίλιοι φονῆες ἐσμέν·

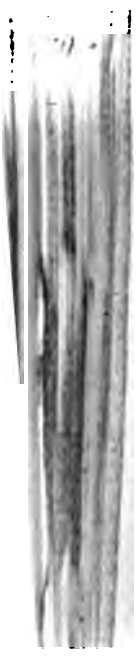
οὕτως τότε πολλοὶ τοῦ φόνου μὴ συνεφαψάμενοι, χεῖρας δὲ καὶ ξίφη καθαιμάσσοντες ἐπεδείκνυντο καὶ δωρεὰς ἤτουν βιβλία διδόντες τῷ Ὄθωνι. Εἴκοσι γοῦν καὶ ἑκατὸν εὑρέθησαν ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν γραμματίων, οὓς ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος ἀναζητήσας ἅπαντας ἀπέκτεινεν. Ἦκε δὲ καὶ Μάριος Κέλσος εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν. Καὶ πολλῶν αὐτοῦ κατηγορούντων, ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἔπειθε τῷ Γάλβᾳ βοηθεῖν, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἀποκτιννύειν βοῶντος, Ὄθων οὐκ ἐβούλετο· φοβούμενος δὲ ἀντιλέγειν οὐχ οὕτως ἔφη ταχέως ἀποκτενεῖν αὐτόν· εἶναι γὰρ ἃ δεῖ πρότερον ἐκπυθέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός. Ἐκέλευσεν οὖν δήσαντας φυλάττειν καὶ παρέδωκε τοῖς μάλιστα πιστευομένοις.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Senate was convoked, the oath to Otho duly taken, and the titles of Caesar and Augustus conferred on him. The head of Vinius was sold to his daughter, that of Piso was received by his wife, while Galba's was taken by the slaves of Patrobius, and insultingly thrown down at the Sessorium or place of execution. His body was taken up by Helvidius Priscus and buried at night by his freedman Argeius.

Εὐθὺς δὲ βουλὴ συνεκαλεῖτο. Καὶ καθάπερ ἄλλοι γεγονότες ἢ θεῶν ἄλλων γεγονότων συνελθόντες

2. γεγονότων, Bod.; γεγωότες, vulg.



τρὶ δισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων δρ
τὴν δὲ Πείσωνος ἡ γυνὴ ἔλαβεν Ο
τὴν δὲ Γάλβα τοῖς Πατροβίου δοῦ
Λαβόντες δὲ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ πάντα τρ
καὶ καθυβρίσαντες ἔρριψαν ἢ τοὺς
σάρων κολαζομένους θανατοῦσιν· ὁ δ
ριον καλεῖται. Τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Ι
Ἐλβίδιος ἀνείλετο τοῦ Ὄθωνος
ἔθαψε δὲ νυκτὸς Ἀργεῖος ἀπελεύθερ

CHAPTER XXIX.

*Such was the end of Galba, a man among th
in wealth and birth, and who was honoured
He put down Nero not by force but by his rep
when all other generals seemed either to the
unfit for the empire, and by accepting the invi
he lent that rebel the support of his noble nam
mere revolutionary movement into a civil
accepted honour not for himself but for the
rule the empire*

matters he remained to the end a general of the old stamp, but as he was content to give up all government to Vinius and Laco, he left no one to mourn his rule, though many to deplore his end.

Τοιαῦτα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Γάλβαν, ἄνδρα μήτε γένει μήτε πλούτῳ πολλῶν ἀπολειφθέντα Ῥωμαίων, ὁμοῦ δὲ πλούτῳ καὶ γένει πρωτεύσαντα πάντων τῶν καθ' αὑτόν, πάντε αὐτοκρατόρων ἡγεμονίαις ἐμβιώσαντα μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης, ὥστε τῇ δόξῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ δυνάμει καθελὼν Νέρωνα τῶν συνεπιτιθεμένων τότε τοὺς μὲν οὐδεὶς ἠξίωσε τῆς ἡγεμονίας, οἱ δ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀπηξίωσαν, Γάλβας δὲ καὶ κληθεὶς καὶ ὑπακούσας αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ τῇ Οὐϊνδικος ἐμπαρασχὼν ὄνομα τόλμῃ, κίνημα καὶ νεωτερισμὸν αὐτοῦ λεγομένην τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐποίησε πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον ἀνδρὸς ἡγεμονικοῦ, τυχοῦσαν. Ὅθεν οὐχ ἑαυτῷ τὰ πράγματα λαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἑαυτὸν οἰόμενος διδόναι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἄρχειν ἠξίου τῶν ὑπὸ Τιγελλίνου καὶ Νυμφιδίου τετιθασευμένων ὡς Σκηπίων ἦρχε καὶ Φαβρίκιος καὶ Κάμιλλος τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων. Ὑπερειπόμενος δὲ τῷ γήρᾳ ἄχρι τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἄκρατος ἦν καὶ ἀρχαῖος αὐτοκράτωρ, Οὐινίῳ δὲ καὶ Λάκωνι καὶ τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις πάντα τὰ πράγματα πωλοῦσι παρέχων ἑαυτὸν οἷον Νέρων παρεῖχε τοῖς ἀπλητοτάτοις, οὐδένα ποθοῦντα τὴν ἀρχήν, οἰκτείρανταs δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς τὸν θάνατον ἀπέλιπεν.

---

8. ἀπηξίωσαν, coni. Reisk.; ἠξίωσαν, Bod. i.a.—16. Σκηπίων, A. Bod. W. H.; σκιπίων, a.i. vulg.—Φαβρίκιος, rest. Sol.; Φουρίκιος, vulg.; Φάβρικιος, H.

CHAPTER I.

The new emperor, after sacrificing on
Marius Celsus from prison, and addres
terms, to which Celsus replied that his fi
past was a guarantee of his fidelity to Ot
the reconciliation so completed was received
In the Senate Otho pursued a popular cours
ship he resigned to Verginius: he left untou
of Nero and Galba, and restored to the N
was still unsold of their property. By the
classes became more reconciled to what at fi
and threatening revolution.

Ὁ δὲ νεώτερος αὐτοκράτωρ ἅμ' ἡμέρ
τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἔθυσε· καὶ κελεύσας Μ
ἀχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠσπάσατο καὶ δι
θρώπως, καὶ παρεκάλεσε τῆς αἰτίας
μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἀφέσεως

ἑαυτὸν παρέσχεν, ᾧ χάριν οὐδεμίαν ὤφειλεν, ἠγάσθησαν οἱ παρόντες ἀμφοτέρων καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπήνεσεν. Ἐν δὲ συγκλήτῳ πολλὰ δημοτικὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα διαλεχθείς, ὃν μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπατεύειν χρόνον ἤμελλε, τούτου μέρος ἔνειμεν Οὐεργινίῳ Ῥούφῳ, τοῖς δὲ ἀποδεδειγμένοις ὑπὸ Νέρωνος ἡ Γάλβα πᾶσιν ἐτήρησε τὰς ὑπατείας. Ἱερωσύναις δὲ τοὺς καθ' ἡλικίαν προήκοντας ἢ δόξαν ἐκόσμησε. Τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος φυγοῦσι καὶ κατελθοῦσιν ἐπὶ Γάλβα συγκλητικοῖς πᾶσιν ἀπέδωκεν ὅσα μὴ πεπραμένα τῶν κτημάτων ἑκάστων ἐξεύρισκεν. Ὅθεν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ κράτιστοι πεφρικότες πρότερον, ὡς οὐκ ἀνδρός, ἀλλά τινος ἢ Ποινῆς ἢ παλαμναίου δαίμονος ἄφνω τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιπεπτωκότος, ἡδίους ἐγένοντο ταῖς ἐλπίσι πρὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὥσπερ διαμειδιῶσαν.

CHAPTER II.

Nothing however delighted the people so much as the punishment of Tigellinus. Tortured by fear indeed he was already, and by the agonies of an incurable complaint; but after all his crimes, his mere life was a grievance to the populace. Accordingly Otho sent to Sinuessa, where he was, and after a cowardly delay he summoned courage to end his own life.

Ὁμοῦ δὲ Ῥωμαίους πάντας οὐδὲν εὔφρανεν οὕτως οὐδὲ ᾠκειώσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς τὰ περὶ Τιγελ-

18. πεπραμένα, Bod. H.; πεπραγμένα, i.a.—19. ἑκάστων, coni. Sint.; ἕκαστον, Bod. i.a. et vulg.

ουσθανατοῦντος αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀκό
μενον, ἐσχάτην τιμωρίαν ἐποι
ἀντάξια θανάτων οἱ σωφρονοῦντ
πολλοὺς ὅμως τὸν ἥλιον ὁρῶν μ
τοιούτους δι' αὐτὸν οὐχ ὁρῶντας
ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ὄθων εἰς τοὺς περὶ Σ
ἐκεῖ γὰρ διῃτᾶτο πλοίων παρορμο
μενος ἀπωτέρω. Καὶ τόν γε πε
πολλῷ πείθειν ἐπεχείρησε παρεῖναι
δὲ δῶρα μὲν ἔδωκεν οὐδὲν ἧττον, ἐδεί
ἕως ἂν ἀποξύρηται τὸ γένειον· κα
ἑαυτὸν ἐλαιμοτόμησεν.

CHAPTER III.

The emperor showed himself forgetful of his
and in his desire to please the masses allowed h
dressed as Nero, while, according to Cluvius Ruf
that emperor was added to that of Otho on the
the postal service. This

Crispinus was charged with the duty of placing their arms and baggage in waggons. This was done at night, and the troops suspecting that they were to be employed by the Senate against the emperor, mutinied, and after killing several officers marched to Rome. There they found that a number of senators with their wives were feasting with the emperor, so, shouting "Now is the time to kill Caesar's enemies," they forced their way in. Great was the panic of the guests who distrusted Otho, and the perplexity of Otho, who trembled for his guests. However he dismissed them in time by another exit, and then addressing the mutineers from his triclinium with difficulty sent them to their quarters. Next day, after soothing the soldiers with a donation, he entered the camp, and while praising their zeal in his behalf rebuked the violence occasioned by a few evil advisers, and had two of them executed.

Οὕτω δὲ τῷ δίμιφ τὴν δικαιοτάτην ἡδονὴν ἀποδοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ἰδίας ἔχθρας οὐδενὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐμνησικάκησε, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς χαριζόμενος οὐκ ἔφευγε τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις Νέρων προσαγορεύεσθαι· καί τινων εἰκόνας Νέρωνος εἰς τοὐμφανὲς προθεμένων οὐκ ἐκώλυσε. Κλούβιος δὲ Ῥοῦφος εἰς Ἰβηρίαν φησὶ κομισθῆναι διπλώματα, οἷς ἐκπέμπουσι τοὺς γραμματηφόρους, τὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος θετὸν ὄνομα προσγεγραμμένον ἔχοντα τῷ τοῦ Ὄθωνος. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοὺς πρώτους καὶ κρατίστους αἰσθόμενος ἐπὶ τούτῳ δυσχεραίνοντας ἐπαύσατο. Τοιαύτην δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας κατάστασιν αὐτῷ λαμβανούσης οἱ μισθοφόροι χαλεποὺς παρεῖχον ἑαυτούς, ἀπιστεῖν παρακελευόμενοι καὶ φυλάτ-

---

6. Κλούβιος, Lipsius; Κλαύδιος, Bod. H. i.a. vulg.—9. θετὸν, conj. J. F. Gronovius; θεῖον, Bod. H. i.a. et vulg. *divum Neronis nomen*, Lat. trans. 1470.

σπειραν λιστίας ἀπάξοντα, κἀκείνου
συσκευαξομένου καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ταῖς ἁμ
θέντος, οἱ θρασύτατοι πάντες ἐβόων οὐ
Κρισπῖνον ἥκειν διανοούμενον, ἀλλὰ τὴι
ἐπιχειρεῖν πράγμασι νεωτέροις καὶ τὰ
Καίσαρος, οὐ Καίσαρι παρακομίζεσθα
λόγου πολλῶν ἀπτομένου καὶ παροξύν
ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν ἁμαξῶν, οἱ δὲ τ
μένους ἑκατοντάρχας δύο καὶ τὸν Κρισ
ἀπέκτειναν, πάντες δὲ διασκευασάμενοι
καλέσαντες ἀλλήλους Καίσαρι βοηθεῖν
τὴν Ῥώμην· καὶ πυθόμενοι παρ' αὐτ
ὀγδοήκοντα συγκλητικοὺς ἐφέροντο πρ
σίλεια, νῦν καιρὸν εἶναι λέγοντες ἐν ταύ
ἀνελεῖν τοὺς Καίσαρος πολεμίους. Ἡ
πόλις ὡς αὐτίκα διαρπαγησομένη θόρ
πολύν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἦσαν διαδ
τὸν Ὄθωνα δεινὴ κατελάμβανεν ἀπορία.
μενος γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτὸς ἦ

καὶ παῦνεν κελεύσας, ἅμα δὲ τοὺς κεκλημένους ἄνδρας ἀναστήσας καθ' ἑτέρας θύρας ἀφῆκε· καὶ μικρὸν ἔφθησαν ὑπεκφυγόντες διὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων ὠθουμένων εἰς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα καὶ πυνθανομένων, τί γεγόνασιν οἱ Καίσαρος πολέμιοι. Τότε μὲν οὖν ὀρθὸς ἀπὸ τῆς κλίνης πολλὰ παρηγορήσας καὶ δεηθεὶς καὶ μηδὲ δακρύων φεισάμενος μόλις ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτούς· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ δωρησάμενος ἅπαντας κατ' ἄνδρα χιλίαις καὶ διακοσίαις καὶ πεντήκοντα δραχμαῖς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐπήνεσεν, ὡς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνουν καὶ πρόθυμον, ὀλίγους δέ τινας οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ φήσας ὑποκουρεῖν διαβάλλοντας αὐτοῦ τὴν μετριότητα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων εὐστάθειαν ἠξίου συναγανακτεῖν καὶ συγκολάζειν. Ἐπαινούντων δὲ πάντων καὶ κελευόντων δύο μόνους παραλαβὼν, οἷς οὐδεὶς ἔμελλεν ἄχθεσθαι κολασθεῖσιν, ἀπηλλάγη.

CHAPTER IV.

Some admired Otho's change of behaviour. Others thought it a mere piece of policy occasioned by the coming war. For the news of Vitellius' elevation was now confirmed, and messengers were continually reporting some new success of his party. The Illyrian legions, however, were said to be faithful, and friendly letters came from Mucianus and Vespasian in the East. Otho is said to have offered Vitellius money and a safe and luxurious retreat. A correspondence followed: hypocritical at first, then violently abusive, and mutual accusations ensued which were

48. ἀντέπεμψεν, Bod. A.; ὑπέπεμψεν, i.a. vulg.—57. παραλαβὼν, coni. Steph.; παραβαλὼν, Bod. i.a.; οὐδὲν, Bod.

as a portent, unparallelled in their viol
severe privations by reason of the flooding

Ταῦτα οἱ μὲν ἀγαπῶντες ἥδ
ἐθαύμαζον τὴν μεταβολήν, οἱ δ' ἀ
ματα πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν ἡγοῦντο
αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον. Ἤδη
βεβαίως Οὐϊτέλλιος ἀξίωμα καὶ
κράτορος ἀνειληφώς· καὶ πτεροφόρ
των ἀεί τι προσχωρεῖν ἐκείνῳ φράζ
τὰ Παννονικὰ καὶ τὰ Δαλματικὰ καὶ
στρατεύματα δηλοῦντες ἠρῆσθαι
μόνων Ὄθωνα. Ταχὺ δὲ ἀφίκετο
κιανοῦ γράμματα καὶ παρὰ Οὐεσπ
τοῦ μὲν ἐν Συρίᾳ, τοῦ δὲ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ
μεις ἐχόντων. Ὑφ' ὧν ἐπαιρόμ
Οὐϊτελλίῳ παραινῶν στρατιωτικὰ φρ
ματα πολλὰ δώσοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πό
σεται ῥᾷστον καὶ ἥδιστον βίον
Ἀντέγραψε δὲ κἀκεῖνος

τὸν ἕτερον ἃ προσῆν ἀμφοτέροις ὀνείδη λοιδοροῦντος. Ἀσωτίας γὰρ καὶ μαλακίας καὶ ἀπειρίας πολέμων καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπὶ πενίᾳ χρεῶν πλήθους ἔργον ἦν εἰπεῖν ὁποτέρῳ μεῖον αὐτῶν μέτεστι. Σημείων δὲ καὶ φαντασμάτων πολλῶν λεγομένων, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα φήμας ἀδεσπότους καὶ ἀμφιβόλους εἶχεν, ἐν δὲ Καπιτωλίῳ Νίκης ἐφεστώσης ἅρματι τὰς ἡνίας πάντες εἶδον ἀφειμένας ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν, ὥσπερ κρατεῖν μὴ δυναμένης, καὶ τὸν ἐν μεσοποταμίᾳ νήσῳ Γαΐου Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντα μήτε σεισμοῦ γεγονότος μήτε πνεύματος ἀφ' ἑσπέρας μεταστραφέντα πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολάς· ὃ φασι συμβῆναι περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας, ἐν αἷς οἱ περὶ Οὐεσπεσιανὸν ἐμφανῶς ἤδη τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντελαμβάνοντο. Καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Θύμβριν δὲ σύμπτωμα σημεῖον ἐποιοῦντο οἱ πολλοὶ μοχθηρόν. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὥρα, περὶ ἣν μάλιστα οἱ ποταμοὶ πλήθουσιν, ἀλλ' οὔπω τοσοῦτος ἤρθη πρότερον οὐδὲ ἀπώλεσε τοσαῦτα καὶ διέφθειρεν ὑπερχυθεὶς καὶ κατακλύσας πολὺ μέρος τῆς πόλεως, πλεῖστον δὲ ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἐπὶ πράσει διαπωλοῦσι σῖτον, ὡς δεινὴν ἀπορίαν ἡμερῶν συχνῶν κατασχεῖν.

CHAPTER V.

When news came that Valens and Caecina had occupied the Alpine passes, the praetorians expressed their suspicions of

---

21. τὸν ἕτερον, Bod. A.; τὸ ἕτερον, i.a.; τῷ ἑτέρῳ, vulg.—38. τοσοῦτος, coni. Schaef.; τοιοῦτος, Bod. H. i.a. vulg.—41. διατηροῦσι, coni. Cor.

Dolabella, whom accordingly Otho sent away in semi-exile t
Aquinum. Among the companions of his own march he selecte
the brother of Vitellius, while he took every care of his rival'
family left in Rome. Flavius Sabinus, brother of Vespasian
he made prefect of the city, thus showing respect at once t
Nero's memory, who had promoted him to this post before, an
to Vespasian. He himself remained behind the army a
Brixellum, entrusted the command to Celsus, Paulinus, Gallu
and Spurinna. Their power, however, was hampered by th
insubordination of the troops, an insubordination equally con
spicuous in the other army as well. The Vitellians, however
at least were experienced and capable troops: the praetorian
inexperienced, and used to the pleasures of the city, sought
cloak their unfitness for military duties by an affectation o
superiority. Spurinna, indeed, in trying to enforce disciplin
nearly paid for his strictness with his life.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς Ἄλπεις κατέχοντες ἤδη προσῃ

[redacted]

ἀρχὴν ὁ Σαβῖνος, ἀφείλετο δὲ Γάλβας αὐτόν), εἴτε μᾶλλον εὔνοιαν ἐνεδείκνυτο Οὐεσπεσιανῷ καὶ πίστιν αὔξων Σαβῖνον. Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐν Βριξίλλῳ, πόλει τῆς Ἰταλίας περὶ τὸν Ἠριδανὸν ἀπελείφθη, στρατηγοὺς δὲ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐξέπεμψε Μάριόν τε Κέλσον καὶ Σουητώνιον Παυλῖνον ἔτι τε Γάλλον καὶ Σπουρίναν, ἄνδρας ἐνδόξους, χρήσασθαι δὲ μὴ δυνηθέντας ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς προῃροῦντο τοῖς ἑαυτῶν λογισμοῖς δι' ἀταξίαν καὶ θρασύτητα τῶν στρατιωτῶν. Οὐ γὰρ ἠξίουν ἑτέρων ἀκούειν, ὡς παρ' αὐτῶν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τὸ ἄρχειν ἔχοντος. Ἦν μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὑγιαίνοντα παντάπασιν οὐδὲ χειροήθη τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, ἀλλ' ἔμπληκτα καὶ σοβαρὰ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις ἐμπειρία γε παρῆν τοῦ μάχεσθαι καὶ τοῦ κάμνειν ἐθάδες ὄντες οὐκ ἔφευγον, οὗτοι δὲ μαλακοὶ μὲν ἦσαν ὑπὸ σχολῆς καὶ διαίτης ἀπολέμου πλεῖστον χρόνον ἐν θεάτροις καὶ πανηγύρεσι καὶ παρὰ σκηνὴν βεβιωκότες, ὕβρει δὲ καὶ κόμπῳ ἐπαμπέχειν ἐβούλοντο, πρόσω ποιήσασθαι τὰς λειτουργίας ὡς κρείττονες ἀπαξιοῦντες, οὐχ ὡς ἀδύνατοι φέρειν. Ὁ δὲ Σπουρίνας προσβιαζόμενος αὐτοὺς ἐκινδύνευσε μικρὸν ἑλθόντας ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν. Ὕβρεως δὲ καὶ βλασφημίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἐφείσαντο, προδότην καὶ λυμεῶνα τῶν Καίσαρος καιρῶν καὶ πραγμάτων λέγοντες. Ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ μεθυσθέντες

---

22. ἐπί, coni. Cor.; ὑπό, Bod. i.a. vulg.—29. γε, coni. Reisk.; τε, Bod. i.a.—31. ἀπὸ πολέμου, A.; ἀπολέμου, Bod. H.—33. κόμπῳ ἐπ' ἐμπεχόνῃ, coni. Reisk.—34. πρόσω ποιήσασθαι, coni. Reisk.; προστατήσασθαι, vulg.

ἤδη νυκτὸς ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐφόδιον αἰτοῦντες· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς πρὸς Καίσαρα βαδιστέον, ὅπως ἐκείνου κατηγορήσωσιν.

CHAPTER VI.

He was assisted, however, at Placentia by the taunts levelled at his men by the Vitellians, who called them frequenters of theatres, and spectators of Olympian contests, with no experience of war, men whose chief boast it was to have murdered a helpless old man. They were so affected by these taunts that they begged Spurinna to lead them against the enemy at any risk. An assault on the walls which followed was repulsed, and Placentia saved. On the whole the generals of Otho were less offensive than those of Vitellius. Caecina was haughty in conduct, and gave offence by his assumption of Gallic dress, while his wife gorgeously arrayed was escorted by picked horsemen.

μάχην ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἂν ἐκφανῶς καταβάντας. Οὕτω γὰρ ἐταράχθησαν ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν ὀνειδῶν καὶ διεκάησαν, ὥστε προσπεσεῖν τῷ Σπουρίνᾳ δεόμενοι χρῆσθαι καὶ προστάττειν αὐτοῖς οὐδένα κίνδυνον οὐδὲ πόνον ἀπολεγομένοις. Ἰσχυρᾶς δὲ συστάσης τειχομαχίας καὶ μηχανημάτων πολλῶν προσαχθέντων ἐκράτησαν οἱ τοῦ Σπουρίνα, καὶ φόνῳ πολλῷ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀποκρουσάμενοι διετήρησαν ἔνδοξον πόλιν καὶ τῶν Ἰταλῶν οὐδεμιᾶς ἧττον ἀνθοῦσαν. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν Οὐιτελλίου στρατηγῶν οἱ Ὄθωνος ἐντυχεῖν ἀλυπότεροι καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἰδιώταις· ἐκείνων δὲ Κεκίνας μὲν οὔτε φωνὴν οὔτε σχῆμα δημοτικός, ἀλλ' ἐπαχθὴς καὶ ἀλλόκοτος, σώματος μεγάλου, Γαλατικῶς ἀναξυρίσι καὶ χειρίσιν ἐνεσκευασμένος, σημείοις καὶ ἄρχουσι Ῥωμαϊκοῖς διαλεγόμενος. Καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα παρέπεμπον αὐτῷ λογάδην ἱππεῖς ὀχουμένην ἵππῳ κεκοσμημένην ἐπιφανῶς· Φάβιον δὲ Οὐάλεντα τὸν ἕτερον στρατηγὸν οὔτε ἁρπαγαὶ πολεμίων οὔτε κλοπαὶ καὶ δωροδοκίαι παρὰ συμμάχων ἐνεπίμπλασαν χρηματιζόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδόκει διὰ τοῦτο βραδέως ὀδεύων ὑστερῆσαι τῆς προτέρας μάχης. Οἱ δὲ τὸν Κεκίναν αἰτιῶνται σπεύδοντα τὴν νίκην ἑαυτοῦ γενέσθαι, πρὶν ἐκεῖνον ἐλθεῖν, ἄλλοις τε μικροτέροις περιπεσεῖν ἁμαρτήμασι καὶ μάχην οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν οὐδὲ γενναίως συνάψαι μικροῦ πάντα τὰ πράγματα διαφθείρασαν αὐτοῖς.

CHAPTER VII.

On raising the siege of Placentia, Caecina marched towards Cremona, to protect which, Annius Gallus and the other generals brought up their forces and encamped close by. Caecina prepared an ambush into which his cavalry were to entice the enemy, but the plan was betrayed to Celsus, who avoided it, and if the main body of the Othonians had attacked at once, the army of Caecina would have been annihilated. Paulinus, however, delayed too long, and was in consequence accused by the soldiers of treachery. Otho, without actually believing the charge, sent his brother Titianus and Proculus to assume the command, and Celsus and Paulinus lost all real influence. The Vitellians on their side were not exempt from mutinies, especially in the army of Valens, which loudly complained of not being present in the battle. It was with difficulty that Valens quieted them, and joined his forces to those of Caecina.

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀποκρουσθεὶς τῆς Πλακεντίας ὁ Κεκίνας ἐπὶ Κρεμώνην ὥρμησεν, ἑτέραν πόλιν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην, πρῶτος μὲν Ἄννιος Γάλλος πρὸς Πλακεντίαν Σπουρίνᾳ βοηθῶν, ὡς ἤκουσε καθ' ὁδὸν τοὺς Πλακεντίνους περιγεγονέναι, κινδυνεύειν δὲ τοὺς ἐν Κρεμώνῃ, μετήγαγεν ἐκεῖ τὸ στράτευμα καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσε πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων· ἔπειτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστος ἐβοήθει τῷ στρατηγῷ. Τοῦ δὲ Κεκίνα λοχίσαντος εἰς λάσια χωρία καὶ ὑλώδη πολλοὺς ὁπλίτας, ἱππεῖς δὲ προεξελάσαι κελεύσαντος, κἂν συνάψωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι κατὰ μικρὸν ἀναχωρεῖν καὶ ἀναφεύγειν, ἄχρι ἂν

3. Γάλλος, rest. Steph.; Γάλβας, Bod. H. i.a.

ὑπάγοντες οὕτως ἐμβάλωσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐνέδραν, ἐξήγγειλαν αὐτόμολοι τῷ Κέλσῳ. Καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἱππεῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς ἀντεξελάσας, πεφυλαγμένως δὲ χρώμενος τῇ διώξει καὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν περισχὼν καὶ συνταράξας ἐκάλει τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. Καὶ δοκοῦσιν ἂν ἐπελθόντες ἐν καιρῷ μηδένα λιπεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸ μετὰ Κεκίνα στράτευμα συντρῖψαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν ἐπισπόμενοι τοῖς ἱππεῦσι· νυνὶ δὲ ὁ Παυλῖνος ὀψὲ καὶ σχολῇ προσβοηθήσας αἰτίαν ἔσχεν ἐνδεέστερον τῆς δόξης στρατηγῆσαι δι' εὐλάβειαν. Οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ προδοσίαν ἐνεκάλουν αὐτῷ καὶ παρώξυνον τὸν Ὄθωνα μεγαληγοροῦντες, ὡς νενικηκότων αὐτῶν, τῆς δὲ νίκης οὐκ ἐπὶ πᾶν προελθούσης κακίᾳ τῶν στρατηγῶν. Ὁ δὲ Ὄθων οὐχ οὕτως ἐπίστευεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἐβούλετο μὴ δοκεῖν ἀπιστεῖν. Ἔπεμψεν οὖν Τιτιανὸν ἐπὶ τὰ στρατεύματα τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ Πρόκλον τὸν ἔπαρχον, ὃς εἶχεν ἔργῳ τὴν πᾶσαν ἀρχήν, πρόσχημα δὲ ἦν ὁ Τιτιανός. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κέλσον καὶ Παυλῖνον ἄλλως ἐφείλκοντο συμβούλων ὄνομα καὶ φίλων, ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι μηδεμίαν ἔχοντες. Ἦν δὲ θορυβώδη καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῷ Οὐάλεντι· καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν μάχης ἀπαγγελθείσης ἐχαλέπαινον, ὅτι μὴ παρεγένοντο μηδὲ ἤμυναν ἀνδρῶν τοσούτων ἀποθανόντων. Μόλις δὲ πείσας καὶ παραιτησά-

---

13. οὗτος, coni. Cor.; τοὺς, Bod. H. i.a.—20. ἐπιστώμενοι, coni. Sol.; ἐπιστῶμενοι, Bod. i.a.; ἐπισκώμενοι, A.

μενος ὡρμημένους αὐτοὺς βάλλειν ἀνέξευξε κα
συνῆψε τοῖς περὶ Κεκίναν.

CHAPTER VIII.

At this time Otho came to Bedriacum and held a council war. Proculus and Titianus were for fighting at once, befo Vitellius arrived from Gaul. Paulinus on the other ha maintained that the enemy would receive no further reinfor ***ments, while their own party expected fresh forces from Mœs and Pannonia, and after their arrival would fight with bet spirits and superior numbers. Moreover, while they had plen of provisions, the enemy would soon be reduced to want. W this reasoning Marius Celsus and Annius Gallus agreed, the other side carried their point.***

Ὁ δὲ Ὄθων παραγενόμενος εἰς Βητριακὸν εἰς

χρήσεσθαι τοτε τοῖς νῦν θαρροῦσιν ἀπ' ἐλαττόνων, ἂν πλείονας τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους προσλάβωσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ περιουσίας ἀγωνιεῖσθαι· καὶ χωρὶς δὲ τούτου τὴν διατριβὴν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐν ἀφθόνοις πᾶσιν ὄντων, ἐκείνοις δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἀπορίαν παρέξειν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐν πολεμίᾳ καθεζομένοις. Ταῦτα λέγοντι Παυλίνῳ Μάριος Κέλσος ἐγένετο σύμψηφος. Ἄννιος δὲ Γάλλος οὐ παρῆν μέν, ἀλλ' ἐθεραπεύετο πεπτωκὼς ἀφ' ἵππου, γράψαντος δὲ Ὄθωνος αὐτῷ συνεβούλευσε μὴ σπεύδειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκ Μυσίας περιμένειν δύναμιν ἤδη καθ' ὁδὸν οὖσαν. Οὐ μὴν ἐπείθετο τούτοις, ἀλλὰ ἐκράτησαν οἱ πρὸς τὴν μάχην παρορμῶντες.

CHAPTER IX.

Other reasons, however, are alleged. The praetorian cohorts, who were for the first time tasting actual service, longed to return to the pleasures of Rome, and thought they would sweep the enemy before them at one rush. Otho, too, was unable longer to endure the suspense and anxiety of the situation, and was like a blind man rushing towards a precipice. On the other side rumour said that there was some inclination on both sides to come to terms, and either to give the empire to one of the generals, or to entrust the choice to the Senate. Nor, considering the unworthiness of both the rival emperors, is it unlikely that the better disposed among the soldiers should have been reluctant to inflict and endure for the gluttony of Vitellius or the licentiousness of Otho, all the sufferings which the civil

---

14. χρήσεσθαι, A. Bod. H.—17. ἐν ἀφθόνοις, coni. Steph.; ἐν ἀφθίνῳ, Bod. i.a.—20. Παυλίνῳ, rest. Steph.; Παύλῳ, Bod. H. i.a.

wars of Marius and Galba or Pompey and Caesar … volved? Accordingly some suspect that this design … reason why Celsus and Paulinus advised delay, and … herents of Otho wished for immediate action.

Αἰτίαι δὲ πλείονες ἄλλαι ὑπ' ἄλλων λέγ… προδήλως δὲ οἱ στρατηγικοὶ προσαγορευόμε… τάξιν ἔχοντες δορυφόρων, τότε μᾶλλον ἀλ… γενόμενοι στρατείας καὶ τὰς ἐν Ῥώμῃ διατριβ… διαίτας ἀπολέμους καὶ πανηγυρικὰς τοῦτο… ἦσαν καθεκτοὶ σπεύδοντες ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, ὡς… ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους. … δὲ μηδὲ αὐτὸς Ὄθων ἐξαναφέρειν ἔτι πρὸ… ἀδηλότητα μηδὲ ὑπομένειν ἀηθείᾳ καὶ μαλα… τοὺς περὶ τῶν δεινῶν λογισμούς, ἐκπονούμε… ταῖς φροντίσι σπεύδειν ἐγκαλυψάμενος, ὥσπε…

γνησίοις καὶ διατόνοις καὶ σωφρονοῦσι τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὡς ἔχθιστον εἴη καὶ δεινόν, ἃ πάλαι διὰ Σύλλαν καὶ Μάριον, εἶτα Καίσαρα καὶ Πομπήϊον φκτείροντο δρῶντες ἀλλήλους καὶ πάσχοντες οἱ πολῖται, ταῦτα νῦν ὑπομένειν ἢ Οὐιτελλίῳ λαμπρηγίας καὶ οἰνοφλυγίας ἢ τρυφῆς καὶ ἀκολασίας Ὄθωνι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν χορήγημα προθεμένους· Ταῦτ' οὖν ὑπονοοῦσι τούς τε περὶ τὸν Κέλσον αἰσθανομένους ἐμβαλεῖν διατριβήν, ἐλπίζοντας ἄνευ μάχης καὶ πόνων κριθήσεσθαι τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ὄθωνα φοβουμένους ἐπιταχῦναι τὴν μάχην.

CHAPTER X.

Otho himself returned to Brixellum, thereby making a double mistake, for he withdrew from the combatants the restraint and emulation which his presence would have caused, and also took with him as a body-guard some of the most serviceable of the troops. About this time some fighting took place on the Po, where Caecina was constructing a bridge, which the Othonians tried to prevent. Finding other means useless, they sent some fire-ships down the stream against it, on which the Vitellians ignominiously leaped into the river. Some German cohorts, however, defeated with some loss the Othonian gladiators on an island in the middle of the river.

Αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν εἰς Βρίξιλλον ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ τοῦτο προσεξαμαρτών, οὐχ ὅτι μόνον τὴν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ παρόντος αἰδῶ καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἀφεῖλε

---

20. ἐμβαλεῖν, coni. Reisk.; ἐμβάλλειν, Bod. i.a.
1. Βρίξιλλον, Bod.—2. ὅτι τοῦτο, Bod. i.a.

τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐρρωμενεστά
καὶ προθυμοτάτους δι' αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς καὶ πε
ἀπαγαγὼν φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος ὥσπερεὶ στόμ
τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπέκοψε. Συνέβη δὲ ταῖς ἡμέ
ἐκείναις καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἡριδανὸν ἀγῶνα γενέσθαι,
μὲν Κελτὸς ξενγνύντος τὴν διάβασιν, τῶν δὲ Ὀθ
εἰργόντων καὶ προσμαχομένων. Ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν
ραινον, ἐνθεμένων εἰς τὰ πλοῖα δᾷδα θείου καὶ πί
ἀνάπλεων διὰ τοῦ πόρου πνεῦμα προσπεσὸν δ
τὴν παρεσκευασμένην ὕλην ἐπὶ τοὺς πολε
ἐξερρίπιζε. Καπνοῦ δὲ πρῶτον, εἶτα λαμπ
φλογὸς ἐκπεσούσης, ταραττόμενοι καὶ ἀποπηδῶ
εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τάς τε ναῦς ἀνέτρεπον καὶ
σώματα τοῖς πολεμίοις μετὰ γέλωτος παρε
Οἱ δὲ Γερμανοὶ τοῖς Ὀθωνος μονομάχοις

began the march, and Caecina, when he heard the news, hastened from the river and found the watch-word already issued by Valens. While the legions took up their position some cavalry were sent out to skirmish.

Γενομένων δὲ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἐν Βητριακῷ στρατιωτῶν τοῦ Ὄθωνος ἐκφερομένων μετ' ὀργῆς ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην προήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Πρόκλος ἐκ τοῦ Βητριακοῦ, καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἀπὸ πεντήκοντα σταδίων οὕτως ἀπείρως καὶ καταγελάστως, ὥστε, τῆς μὲν ὥρας ἐαρινῆς οὔσης, τῶν δὲ κύκλῳ πεδίων πολλὰ νάματα καὶ ποταμοὺς ἀεννάους ἐχόντων, ὕδατος σπάνει πιέζεσθαι. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ βουλόμενον προάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὁδὸν οὐκ ἐλάττονα σταδίων ἑκατὸν οἱ περὶ τὸν Παυλῖνον οὐκ εἴων, ἀλλ' ἤροντο δεῖν περιμένειν καὶ μὴ προπονεῖν ἑαυτούς, μηδὲ εὐθὺς ἐκ πορείας μάχην τίθεσθαι πρὸς ἄνδρας ὡπλισμένους καὶ παρατεταγμένους καθ' ἡσυχίαν, ἐν ὅσῳ χρόνῳ προῖασιν αὐτοὶ τοσαύτην ὁδὸν ἀναμεμιγμένων ὑποζυγίων καὶ ἀκολούθων. Οὔσης δὲ περὶ τούτων ἀντιλογίας ἐν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἦλθε παρ' Ὄθωνος ἱππεὺς τῶν καλουμένων Νομάδων γράμματα κομίζων κελεύοντα μὴ μένειν μηδὲ διατρίβειν, ἀλλ' ἄγειν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἅραντες ἐχώρουν, ὁ δὲ Κεκίνας πυθόμενος τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν ἐθορυβήθη, καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἀπολιπὼν τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἦκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. Ὡπλισμένων δὲ ἤδη τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ τὸ σύνθημα παραλαμβανόντων παρὰ τοῦ Οὐάλεντος, ἐν ὅσῳ τὴν τάξιν διελάγχανε τὰ τάγματα, τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἱππέων προεξέπεμψαν.

CHAPTER XII.

An impression was somehow conveyed to the van of Otho's army that the Vitellian generals would desert to them, and accordingly they saluted the advancing troops as comrades. The latter, however, replied in no friendly manner, and the result was disappointment and mutual suspicion among the Othonians. But, besides this, nothing on their side was done with regularity and order; the baggage mixed with the combatants caused confusion, and the numerous dykes and ditches divided their lines and involved isolated attacks on the enemy. Two legions, however, the Rapax on the Vitellian side, and the Adiutrix on Otho's, fought obstinately and in regular order. The Othonians were brave soldiers, but hitherto untried; their opponents, experienced, but past their prime. The former captured the Vitellians' eagle, but in their turn lost their legate and a number of ensigns. The gladiators of Otho, who had a reputation for skill in close fighting, were opposed by some Batavian troops under Alfenus Varus, who drove most of them to the river, where they were intercepted and cut to pieces by some troops posted there. The praetorians behaved with the greatest cowardice, not awaiting the enemy's onset, and throwing the others into confusion. Some of the Othonians, however, succeeded in forcing their way through the enemy to the camp.

Ἐμπίπτει δὲ τοῖς προτεταγμένοις τῶν Ὄθωνος ἐκ δή τινος αἰτίας δόξα καὶ λόγος, ὡς μεταβαλουμένων τῶν Οὐϊτελλίου στρατηγῶν πρὸς αὐτούς. Ὡς οὖν ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ἠσπάσαντο φιλίως συστρατιώτας προσαγορεύσαντες. Ἐκείνων δὲ τὴν προσαγόρευσιν οὐκ εὐμενῶς, ἀλλὰ μετὰ θυμοῦ καὶ φωνῆς πολεμικῆς ἀμειψαμένων, τοῖς μὲν ἀσπασαμένοις ἀθυμία, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ὑπόνοια κατὰ τῶν ἀσπασαμένων ὡς προδιδόντων παρέστη. Καὶ τοῦτο

πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ἐτάραξεν ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων ἐν χερσὶν ὄντων. Εἶτα τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἦν κόσμῳ γινόμενον, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν μὲν ἀταξίαν τὰ σκευοφόρα τοῖς μαχομένοις ἐμπλαξόμενα παρεῖχε, πολλοὺς δὲ τὰ χωρία διασπασμοὺς ἐποίει τάφρων ὄντα μεστὰ καὶ ὀρυγμάτων, ἃ φοβούμενοι καὶ περιϊόντες ἠναγκάζοντο φύρδην καὶ κατὰ μέρη πολλὰ συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις. Μόναι δὲ δύο λεγεῶνες (οὕτω γὰρ τὰ τάγματα Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν), ἐπίκλησιν ἡ μὲν Οὐϊτελλίου Ἅρπαξ, ἡ δὲ Ὄθωνος Βοηθός, εἰς πεδίον ἐξελίξασαι ψιλὸν καὶ ἀναπεπταμένον νόμιμόν τινα μάχην συμπεσοῦσαι φαλαγγηδὸν ἐμάχοντο πολὺν χρόνον. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ὄθωνος ἄνδρες ἦσαν εὔρωστοι καὶ ἀγαθοί, πολέμου δὲ καὶ μάχης τότε πρῶτον πεῖραν λαμβάνοντες, οἱ δὲ Οὐϊτελλίου πολλῶν ἀγώνων ἐθάδες, ἤδη δὲ γηραιοὶ καὶ παρακμάζοντες. Ὁρμήσαντες οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Ὄθωνος ἐώσαντο καὶ τὸν ἀετὸν ἀφείλοντο, πάντας ὁμοῦ τι τοὺς προμάχους ἀποκτείναντες· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ αἰσχύνης καὶ ὀργῆς ἐμπεσόντες αὐτοῖς τόν τε πρεσβευτὴν τοῦ τάγματος Ὀρφίδιον ἔκτειναν καὶ πολλὰ τῶν σημείων ἥρπασαν. Τοῖς δὲ μονομάχοις ἐμπειρίαν τε καὶ θάρσος ἔχειν πρὸς τὰς συμπλοκὰς δοκοῦσιν ἐπήγαγεν Οὔαρος Ἀλφῆνος τοὺς καλουμένους Βατάβους. Εἰσὶ δὲ Γερμανῶν ἱππεῖς ἄριστοι, νῆσον οἰκοῦντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥήνου περιρρεομένην. Τούτους ὀλίγοι μὲν τῶν

14. διεστασμένους, Bod.—25. ἤδη δέ, coni. Schaef.; ἤδη, Bod. H. i.a. vulg.—29. πρεσβυτὴν, Bod. A. i.a.—33. Βατάβους, rest. Sol.; Βατάλους, Bod. i.a.—35. Τούτους, coni. Reisk.; Τούτοις, Bod. i.a.

μονομάχω[ν] πέστησαν, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι φεύγοντες
ἐπὶ τὸν π[ό]ταμον ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς σπείρας τῶν
πολεμίων [ἐ]τόθι τεταγμένας, ὑφ' ὧν ἀμυνόμενοι
πάντες ὁμο[ῦ] ὡς διεφθάρησαν. Ἥσχιστα δὲ ἡγωνί-
σαντο πάντων οἱ στρατηγικοί, μηδὲ ὅσον ἐν χερσὶ
γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐναντ[ί]ους ὑπο[μ]είναντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
ἀηττήτους ἔτι φόβου καὶ [τ]αχῆς ἀνεπίμπλασαν
φεύγοντες δι' αὐτῶν. [Ο]ὐκ ἀλλὰ πολλοί γε τῶν
Ὄθωνος νενικηκότες τους[δ]ε αὐτοὺς ἐβιάσαντο
καὶ διεξέπεσον διὰ τῶν πολε[μ]ίων κρατούντων εἰς τὸ
στρατόπεδον.

CHAPTER XIII.

Proculus and Paulinus, however, feared to enter it with them, as the soldiers were throwing on them the responsibility for the defeat. Annius Gallus received the fugitives in the city and endeavoured to revive their courage. A council of war was called by Marius Celsus, who expressed his conviction that in the face of such a calamity Otho would not wish them again to tempt fortune, since even Cato and Scipio were not considered blameless for continuing the contest with Caesar after Pharsalus. As the soldiers were disposed towards peace, and Titianus suggested an embassy with that object, Celsus and Marius started to see Caecina and Valens. On their way they met some centurions from the other side, who turned back with them. But when they neared the camp, Celsus narrowly escaped being killed by some of the cavalry whom he had recently defeated. He was, however, rescued and well received by Caecina at Bedriacum. Meanwhile Titianus changed his mind, and again

37. ἐπί, coni. Steph. et Bod.; ὑπό, vulg.

manned the walls, but when Caecina came up, no resistance was offered, the gates were opened, and the oath of allegiance to Vitellius taken by all.

Τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν οὔτε Πρόκλος οὔτε Παυλῖνος συνεισελθεῖν ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλ' ἐξέκλιναν φοβούμενοι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἤδη τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τρέποντας. Ἄννιος δὲ Γάλλος ἀνελάμβανεν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ παρεμυθεῖτο τοὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης συλλεγομένους, ὡς ἀγχωμάλου γεγενημένης καὶ πολλοῖς κεκρατηκότας μέρεσι τῶν πολεμίων. Μάριος δὲ Κέλσος τοὺς ἐν τέλει συναγαγὼν ἐκέλευσε σκοπεῖν τὸ κοινόν, ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ τηλικαύτῃ καὶ φόνῳ τοσούτῳ πολιτῶν μηδὲ Ὄθωνος, εἴπερ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστιν, ἐθελήσοντος ἔτι πειρᾶσθαι τῆς τύχης, ὅπου καὶ Κάτων καὶ Σκηπίων Καίσαρι κρατοῦντι μετὰ Φάρσαλον εἶξαι μὴ θελήσαντες αἰτίαν ἔχουσιν, ὡς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν Λιβύῃ παρανιλώσαντες οὐκ ἀναγκαίως, καίπερ ἀγωνιζόμενοι περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐλευθερίας. Τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα κοινὴν ἡ τύχη παρέχουσα πᾶσιν ἑαυτὴν ἓν οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τὸ κἂν πταίσωσιν εὐλογιστεῖν πρὸς τὰ συντυγχάνοντα. Ταῦτα λέγων ἔπειθε τοὺς ἡγεμονικούς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πειρώμενοι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐώρων εἰρήνης δεομένους καὶ Τιτιανὸς ἐκέλευε πρεσβεύειν ὑπὲρ ὁμονοίας, ἔδοξε Κέλσῳ καὶ Γάλλῳ βαδίζειν καὶ διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κεκίναν καὶ Οὐάλεντα. Βαδίζουσι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπήν-

---

6. ἀγχωμάχου, Bod. H.—7. κεκρατηκότας, conl. Bryanus; κεκρατηκότες, Bod. i.a.—12. Σκιπίων, a. et vulg.

τήσαν ἑκατοντάρχαι τὴν μὲν δύναμιν ἤδη κεκ
μένην λέγοντες ἐρχομένην ἐπὶ τὸ Βητριακόν, αὐ
δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀπεστάλθαι περὶ ὁμονο
Ἐπαινέσαντες οὖν οἱ περὶ τὸν Κέλσον ἐκέλευ
αὐτοὺς ἀναστρέψαντας πάλιν ἀπαντᾶν μετ' αὐ
τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κεκίναν. Ἐπεὶ δε ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ἐ
δύνευσεν ὁ Κέλσος. Ἔτυχον γὰρ οἱ περὶ
ἐνέδραν ἠττημένοι πρότερον ἱππεῖς προεξελαύνον
Ὡς οὖν προσιόντα τὸν Κέλσον κατεῖδον, ε
βοήσαντες ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτόν. Οἱ δὲ ἑκατοντάρ
προέστησαν ἀνείργοντες· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λοχα
φείδεσθαι βοώντων οἱ περὶ τὸν Κεκίναν πυθόμ
καὶ προσελάσαντες τὴν ἀκοσμίαν ταχὺ τῶν ἱπ
ἔπαυσαν, τὸν δὲ Κέλσον ἀσπασάμενοι φιλοφρ
ἐβάδιζον μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ Βητριακόν. Ἐ

CHAPTER XIV.

This is the commonly received account of the battle, though the details are confessedly uncertain owing to the confusion that prevailed. I travelled through the plain myself at a later time with Mestrius Florus, one of the senators who had been obliged to accompany Otho, and he told me that the dead were piled as high as the pediments of an ancient temple close by which he pointed out. The cause of so great a slaughter I do not know. In civil wars, where no prisoners are taken, the number of the killed is naturally great, but this does not account for such a piling up as that described.

Οὕτω μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν παραγενομένων ἀπαγγέλλουσι γενέσθαι τὴν μάχην, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ σαφῶς ὁμολογοῦντες εἰδέναι τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα διὰ τὴν ἀταξίαν καὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν. Ἐμοὶ δὲ ὕστερον ὁδεύοντι διὰ τοῦ πεδίου Μέστριος Φλῶρος, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικὸς τῶν τότε μὴ κατὰ γνώμην, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκῃ μετὰ τοῦ Ὄθωνος γενομένων, νεὼν ὄντα παλαιὸν ἐπιδείξας διηγεῖτο μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐπελθὼν ἰδεῖν νεκρῶν σωρὸν τηλικοῦτον, ὥστε τοὺς ἐπιπολῆς ἅπτεσθαι τῶν ἀετῶν. Καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔφη ζητῶν οὔτε αὐτὸς εὑρεῖν οὔτε παρ' ἄλλου του πυθέσθαι. Θνήσκειν μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τοὺς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους, ὅταν τροπὴ γένηται, πλείονας εἰκός ἐστι τῷ μηδένα ζωγρεῖν, χρῆσθαι γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς ἁλισκομένοις, ἡ δ' ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο σωρεία καὶ συμφόρησις οὐκ ἔχει τὴν αἰτίαν εὐσυλλόγιστον.

---

7. *νεὼν*, coni. Reisk.; *νέων*, Bod. H. i.a. et vulg.—10. *ἀετῶν*, coni. Cor.; *ἐναντίων*, Bod. H. i.a. et vulg.—12. *τοὺς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους*, Schaef.; *τοῖς ἐμφ. πολέμοις*, Bod. i.a.—15. *τοσοῦτο*, coni. Cor.; *ταὐτο*, coni. Sol.; *τοῦτο*, Bod. i.a.

CHAPTER XV.

Otho received at first a faint rumour of the event, and soon definite news was brought by some of the wounded. That his friends should have done their best to encourage him is not wonderful, but the devotion of his soldiers almost passes belief. Not one deserted him, or regarded his own safety. They assembled at his door, and when he appeared, clung to his hands and besought him not to desert them. One was carried so far by his enthusiasm as to kill himself. Otho was unmoved by all this, and assured his soldiers that he desired nothing better than to die for his brave followers. He declined to use the fresh forces which were on their way from Moesia. He reminded them that the war was not against a foreign enemy, but whichever conquered it was their own country which suffered. His own victory could never so benefit the Romans as would his voluntary sacrifice of himself for the future tranquillity of Italy.

Τῷ δὲ Ὄθωνι πρῶτον μὲν ἀσαφής, ὥσπερ εἴωθε περὶ τῶν τηλικούτων, προσέπεσε λόγος· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τετρωμένοι τινὲς ἦκον ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀπαγγέλλοντες, τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἧττον ἄν τις ἐθαύμασεν οὐκ ἐῶντας ἀπαγορεύειν, ἀλλὰ θαρρεῖν παρακελευομένους, τὸ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πάθος ἅπασαν ὑπερέβαλε πίστιν, ὡς οὐκ ἀπῆλθεν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ μετέστη πρὸς τοὺς κρατοῦντας, οὐδ' ὤφθη τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν ζητῶν ἀπεγνωσμένου τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, πάντες δ' ὁμαλῶς ἐπὶ

7. οὐδὲ ἀπῆλθεν οὐδέ, Bod. H. i.a.—8. οὐδ', coni. Reisk.; οὐκ, Bod. i.a.—καθ' αὑτὸν ζητῶν, coni. Sint.; καθ' αὑτὸ ζητοῦν, F. i.a. et vulg.

θύρας ἦλθον, ἐκάλουν αὐτοκράτορα, προελθόντος ἐγίνοντο προστρόπαιοι, μετὰ βοῆς καὶ ἱκεσίας χειρῶν ἥπτοντο, προσέπιπτον, ἐδάκρυον, ἐδέοντο μὴ σφᾶς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, μὴ προδοῦναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλὰ χρῆσθαι μέχρι ἂν ἐμπνέωσι καὶ ψυχαῖς καὶ σώμασιν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. Ταῦτα ὁμοῦ πάντες ἱκέτευον. Εἷς δὲ τῶν ἀφανεστέρων ἀνατείνας τὸ ξίφος καὶ εἰπών, "Ἴσθι, Καῖσαρ, οὕτως ὑπὲρ σοῦ παρατεταγμένους ἅπαντας" ἀπέσφαξεν ἑαυτόν. Ἀλλὰ τούτων οὐδὲν ἐπέκλασε τὸν Ὄθωνα, φαιδρῷ δὲ καὶ καθεστῶτι προσώπῳ πανταχόσε τὰς ὄψεις περιαγαγών "Ταύτην" εἶπεν "ὦ συστρατιῶται, τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνης, ἐν ᾗ με πρῶτον ἐποιήσατε αὐτοκράτορα, μακαριωτέραν ἡγοῦμαι τοιούτους ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς καὶ τηλικούτων ἀξιούμενος. Ἀλλὰ μὴ μείζονος ἀποστερεῖτε τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων πολιτῶν. Εἰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἄξιος γέγονα, δεῖ με τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀφειδεῖν. Οἶδα τὴν νίκην τοῖς ἐναντίοις οὔτε βεβαίαν οὔτε ἰσχυρὰν οὖσαν. Ἀπαγγέλλουσι τὴν ἐκ Μυσίας ἡμῶν δύναμιν οὐ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπέχειν ἤδη καταβαίνουσαν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν. Ἀσία καὶ Συρία καὶ Αἴγυπτος καὶ τὰ πολεμοῦντα Ἰουδαίοις στρατεύματα μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἥ τε σύγκλητος παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ τέκνα τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ γυναῖκες. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι πρὸς Ἀννίβαν οὐδὲ Πύρρον οὐδὲ Κίμβρους ὁ πόλεμος

10. προελθόντος, Sint.; προσελθόντες, Sol.; προελθόντες, Bod. i.a.; προστρόπαιοι, coni. Cor.; τρόπαια, Bod. i.a. et vulg. *tropheea fiebant*, Lat. trans. 1470.—13. μηδὲ προδοῦναι, coni. Cor.—28. οὔτε ... οὔτε, Cor.; οὐδὲ ... οὐδέ, Bod. i.a. vulg.

ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίοις πολεμοῦν
ἀμφότεροι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ νικῶντες ἀδικοῦμεν
νικώμενοι. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοῦ κρατοῦν
ἐκείνῃ κακόν ἐστι. Πιστεύσατε ὅτι πολλ
δύναμαι κάλλιον ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἄρχειν. Οὐ γὰρ ὁ
τί τηλικοῦτον Ῥωμαίοις ὄφελος ἔσομαι κρατή
ἡλίκον ἐπιδοὺς ἐμαυτὸν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης καὶ ὁμον
καὶ τοῦ μὴ πάλιν ἡμέραν τοιαύτην ἐπιδεῖν
Ἰταλίαν."

CHAPTER XVI.

*He then bade his friends and those of the senatorial order
were present to depart, providing for all safe conduct for
journey. Sending for his youthful nephew Cocceianus he*

κῶν τοὺς παρόντας· τοῖς δὲ μὴ παροῦσιν ἐπέστελλε καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὰς πόλεις ὅπως παρακομισθῶσιν ἐντίμως καὶ μετὰ ἀσφαλείας. Προσαγόμενος δὲ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν Κοκκήϊον ἔτι μειράκιον ὄντα θαρρεῖν παρεκάλει καὶ μὴ δεδιέναι Οὐϊτέλλιον, οὗ καὶ μητέρα καὶ γενεὰν καὶ γυναῖκα αὐτός, ὥσπερ οἰκείων κηδόμενος, διαφυλάξαι. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδὲ θέσθαι παῖδα βουλόμενος αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἀναβαλέσθαι τὴν εἰσποίησιν, ὅπως συνάρχοι κρατήσαντος αὐτοῦ, μὴ προσαπόλοιτο πταίσαντος. "Ἐκεῖνο δέ" εἶπεν "ὦ παῖ, παρεγγυῶμαί σοι τελευταῖον, μήτε ἐπιλαθέσθαι παντάπασι μήτε ἄγαν μνημονεύειν, ὅτι Καίσαρα θεῖον ἔσχες." Γενόμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων μετὰ μικρὸν ἤκουσε θορύβου καὶ βοῆς ἐπὶ θύραις. Οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται τῶν συγκλητικῶν τοῖς ἀπιοῦσι διηπείλουν ἀποσφάξειν, εἰ μὴ παραμενοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ οἰχήσονται τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καταλιπόντες. Πάλιν οὖν προῆλθεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν φοβηθείς, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας οὐκέτι δεητικὸς οὐδὲ πρᾷος, ἀλλὰ τραχὺς ὀφθεὶς καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς εἰς τὸ θορυβοῦν μάλιστα διαβλέψας ἀπελθεῖν ἐποίησεν εἴξαντας καὶ διατρέσαντας.

---

4. τοῖς παροῦσιν, Bod.—5. Post πρὸς τὰς πόλεις, coni. Reisk. ἐπεμπε.—8. οὗ add. Reisk. om. cett.—11. βουλόμενος, Steph.; βουλόμενον, Bod. H. i.a.—Post ἀναβαλέσθαι add. μνημονεύειν ὅτι Καίσαρ ἄθετεῖ, Bod. H. i.a. *sed distulisse quoniam meminisset Caesaris contempnentis et abnuentis adoptionem*, Lat. trans. 1470.—13. προσαπόλοιτο, Schaef.; προαπόλοιτο, Bod. i.a. vulg. —22. δεκτικὸν, Bod.

CHAPTER XVII.

In the evening he drank a little water, and after trying two daggers selected one, which he hid in his bosom. He then distributed his money with care and discrimination to his attendants. For the rest of the night he slept soundly. At dawn he awoke and sent away his freedman in order that he might show himself to the soldiers, and thus avoid the suspicion of having killed his master. He then threw himself on his dagger and died with a single groan. The soldiers rushed in, reproaching themselves for not having prevented the act. They adorned his body, and prepared a funeral pyre, on which some threw themselves and perished in the flames. They had received no especial benefit from him, and had no special reason to fear Vitellius; but their devotion to Otho proved a passion stronger than ambition and more intense than love of rule, and even after his death it did not disappear, but changed into undying hatred of Vitellius.

Ἤδη δὲ ἑσπέρας οὔσης ἐδίψησε, καὶ πιὼν ὀλίγον ὕδατος, δυεῖν ὄντων αὐτῷ ξιφῶν, ἑκατέρου κατεμάνθανε τὸ σπάσμα πολὺν χρόνον, καὶ τὸ ἕτερον ἀπέδωκε, θάτερον δὲ εἰς τὰς ἀγκάλας ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς οἰκέτας προσεκαλεῖτο. Καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος διένεμε τῶν χρημάτων τῷ μὲν πλέον, τῷ δὲ ἔλαττον, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἀλλοτρίων ἀφειδῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν καὶ τὸ μέτριον ἐπιμελῶς φυλάττων. Ἀποπέμψας δὲ τούτους ἤδη τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνεπαύετο τῆς νυκτός, ὥστε τοὺς κατευναστὰς αἰσθάνεσθαι βαθέως αὐτοῦ καθεύδοντος. Ὄρθρου δὲ καλέσας ἀπελεύθερον, ᾧ συνδιῴκησε τὰ περὶ τοὺς συγκλητικούς, μαθεῖν προσέταξε· καὶ πυθόμενος γεγονέναι τοῖς ἀπερχομένοις ὧν ἕκαστος ἔχρῃζεν "Ἴθι τοίνυν" ἔφη "σύ, καὶ ποίει

10. βαθέως, coni. Sol.; βαρέως, Bod. i.a.

τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐμφανῆ σεαυτόν, εἰ μὴ θέλεις κακῶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν ὡς ἐμοὶ συμπράξας τὸν θάνατον." Ἐξελθόντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ξίφος ὑποστήσας ὀρθὸν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ περιπεσὼν ἄνωθεν ὅσον ἅπαξ στενάξαι μόνον ἤσθετο τοῦ πόνου καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς αἴσθησιν παρέσχεν. Ἀραμένων δὲ τῶν παίδων οἰμωγὴν εὐθὺς ἅπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπεῖχε κλαυθμός· καὶ μετὰ βοῆς οἱ στρατιῶται εἰσέπεσον ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας καὶ ὠλοφύροντο περιπαθοῦντες καὶ λοιδοροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς μὴ φυλάξαντας τὸν αὐτοκράτορα μηδὲ κωλύσαντας ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. Ἀπέστη δὲ οὐδεὶς τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἐγγὺς ὄντων τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ κοσμήσαντες τὸ σῶμα καὶ πυρὰν κατασκευάσαντες ἐξεκόμιζον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις οἱ φθάσαντες ὑποδῦναι καὶ βαστάσαι τὸ λέχος ἐπιγαυρούμενοι. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οἱ μὲν τὸ τραῦμα τοῦ νεκροῦ κατεφίλουν προσπίπτοντες, οἱ δὲ ἥπτοντο τῶν χειρῶν, οἱ δὲ προσεκύνουν πόρρωθεν. Ἔνιοι δὲ τῇ πυρᾷ λαμπάδας ὑφέντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπέσφαξαν, οὐδὲν ἐκδήλως οὔτε πεπονθότες χρηστὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ τεθνηκότος οὔτε πείσεσθαι δεινὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος δεδιότες. Ἀλλ' ἔοικε μηδενὶ τῶν πώποτε τυράννων ἢ βασιλέων δεινὸς οὕτως ἔρως ἐγγενέσθαι καὶ περιμανὴς τοῦ ἄρχειν, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ὑπακούειν Ὄθωνος ἠράσθησαν· οὗ γε μηδ' ἀποθανόντος ὁ πόθος προὔλιπεν, ἀλλὰ παρέμεινεν εἰς ἀνήκεστον ἔχθος Οὐιτελλίῳ τελευτήσας.

27. κατ' αὐτὸν, coni. Cor.; καθ' αὑτὸν, Bod. i.a. vulg.—34. ὑφέντες, Coni. Sol.; ἐφέντες, Bod. H. i.a.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The events which followed will be told in their proper p
The soldiers buried the remains of Otho in a modest tomb,
no splendid monument, and no boastful inscription. I s
myself in Brixellum. The title runs, being interpreted, '
the memory of M. Otho." He had lived 37 years, and rei
3 months. He left behind quite as many who praised hi
as who condemned his life. The latter was no better
Nero's, but his death was far nobler. The soldiers, reje
the advice of Plotius to take the oath to Vitellius, rushed
arms in their hands to the house of Verginius Rufus, whom
urged either to accept the imperial power or to act as
ambassador. Refusing both demands, he escaped by a po
door and fled. Then they had no alternative but to tak
oath and join Caecina.

κελεύσαντος εὐσχέραινον· καὶ πυθόμενοι τῶν συγκλητικῶν ἐνίους ἔτι παρεῖναι τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀφῆκαν, Οὐεργινίῳ δὲ Ῥούφῳ πράγματα παρεῖχον ἅμα τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ κατακαλοῦντες αὖθις καὶ κατακελεύοντες ἄρχειν ἢ πρεσβεύειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. Ὁ δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἡττωμένων παραλαβεῖν νεικηκότων πρότερον μὴ θελήσας μανικὸν ἡγεῖτο· πρεσβεύειν δὲ πρὸς Γερμανοὺς δεδιὼς πολλὰ βεβιάσθαι παρὰ γνώμην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δοκοῦντας ἔλαθε δι' ἑτέρων θυρῶν ἐκποδὼν ποιήσας ἑαυτόν, Ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατιῶται, τούς τε ὅρκους ἐδέξαντο καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κεκίναν προσέθεντο συγγνώμης τυχόντες.

---

18. κελεύοντες, coni. Sint.

NOT

CHAPTER I.

1. **Ὁ μὲν Ἀθηναῖος Ἰφικράτης.** For an account of Iphicrates, the well-known Athenian general, see Grote, *Hist. of Gr.* ix. p. 161 *seq.* and Smith's *Dictionary*. The corps of mercenary troops, the training and equipment of which made him so famous and so successful, first came under his command at Corinth in 393 B.C. He armed these **πελτασταί** in a manner which combined the advantages of **ὁπλῖται** and **ψιλοί**. (Conf. Corn. Nep. *Iphic.* i., and Diodorus xv. 44.) The first action in which they were engaged, that at Lechaeum, was not successful (Xen. *Hell.* iv. 4. 9), but later campaigns secured for him the very highest reputation as a general. Polyaenus in his *Strategemata* devotes a considerable space to the sayings and doing of Iphicrates. Frontinus in his treatise with the same title several times cites his achievements, while Plutarch himself attributes six of his **ἀποφθέγματα** to the Athenian general.

1-2. **τὸν μισθοφόρον ἡξίου ... καὶ φιλόπλουτον εἶναι, κ.τ.λ.** So Polyaenus says (iii. 9. 35), "*εἰ εὐπορίᾳ χρημάτων ἦγεν αὐτοὺς* (*τοὺς στρατιώτας*) *ἐς πόλεις καὶ χωρία εὐδαίμονα ὅπου τάχιστα τὸν μισθὸν ἀναλώσαντες σπουδάζοιέν τι πράττειν διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀργυρίου ἔνδειαν.*" A striking saying of his is recorded by Plutarch (*Mor.* p. 224, 26), "*χειρίστην στρατηγοῦ φωνὴν εἶναι, τὴν οὐκ ἂν προσεδόκησα,*" 'the worst thing a general can say is—I should never have expected it.'

3. **ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις χορηγίαν.** Polybius (iv. 71) has **χορηγία τῶν βελῶν**, and (i. 83) **χορηγοῦντας τοῖς πολεμίοις**, 'ministering to the enemy.' Conf. **χορήγημα** infra, *Oth.* 9. 29.

4. **παραβολώτερον**, 'more recklessly.' Of actions, **παράβολος** means hazardous. Conf. Plut. *Tib. Grach.* 8, and Hdt. 9. 45.

οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι, κ.τ.λ. 'Most authorities, however, lay it down that a body of soldiers, like the natural body in health,

should have no independent impulse of its own, but should make every movement accord with those of its general and head.' This is a view with which the saying of Iphicrates was by no means intended to be inconsistent. Thus Polyaenus (iii. 9. 22) relates—"Ἰφικράτης τὴν σύνταξιν τῶν στρατοπέδων εἶπε τῷ σώματι· θώρακα ἐκδλει τὴν φάλαγγα, χεῖρας τοὺς ψιλούς, πόδας τὴν ἵππον, κεφαλὴν τὸν στρατηγόν"; while both Plutarch and Nepos represent Iphicrates as a strict maintainer of discipline.

7–8. Παῦλον Αἰμίλιον ... τὴν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ δύναμιν παραλαβόντα, κ.τ.λ. L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, aedile, 192 B.C.; praetor, 191 B.C.; consul I., 182 B.C., was at the age of 60, in 168 B.C., induced to accept the consulship a second time, and the command against Perseus, king of Macedonia. The circumstance mentioned here is given somewhat more fully by Plutarch in his life of Aemilius Paulus, c. 13—"ὑπ' ἀδείας δὲ τῆς πρόσθεν τὸν στρατὸν ὁρῶν δυσαπαρασχετοῦντα καὶ λόγῳ πολλὰ διαστρατηγοῦντα τῶν ἀπράκτων ἐπετίμησεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ παρήγγειλε μηδὲν πολυπραγμονεῖν μηδὲ φροντίζειν ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τὴν παρασκλίαν ἕκαστον ὅπως ἐνεργὸν παρέξει, καὶ χρήσεται Ῥωμαϊκῶν τῷ μαχαίρᾳ, τὸν καιρὸν παραδόντος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ." Similarly Livy (44. 34) makes him say, "Militem haec tria curare debere, corpus ut quam validissimum et pernicissimum habeat, arma apta, cibum paratum ad subita imperia; cetera ... imperatori suo curae esse."

9. διαστρατηγοῦσαν, 'assuming the general's duties.' Conf. Plut. *Vit. Aemil. Paul.* (quoted above), and *Vit. Phoc.* 25. Polybius uses the word in the sense of 'to out-manœuvre,' Dio Cassius in the semi-technical sense of 'to serve one's full time as στρατηγός or praetor.'

παρεγγυῆσαι = 'to pass the word of command, and so to exhort.' Conf. Plut. *Vit. Camill.* 37; Polyb. 7. 18.

11. Ὁ δὲ Πλάτων, κ.τ.λ. 'The view of Plato again that neither a good commander nor general can achieve anything if his army lacks the virtues of temperance and concord, and his opinion that the virtue of the subject, quite as much as that of the king, requires a generous nature and a philosophic training, which alone can duly reconcile high spirit and activity with mildness and humanity, find their confirmation in many disastrous events, but nowhere more than in those which befell the Romans after Nero's death—events which show that nothing is more fearful than military power placed in a position of supremacy when actuated by unguided and unreasoning impulses.' There is no extant passage of Plato which makes exactly the statements in the text, but it

is possible that Plutarch has in mind some passages in th
Republic where Plato is discussing the qualities necessary
the φύλακες, or guardians of his state, and the relations t
wards them of the ἐπίκουροι. Thus, after pointing out 375
that "ἐναντία γὰρ που θυμοειδεῖ πρᾶεία φύσις," he shows th
they can only be reconciled by philosophy, 375 E. "Ἆρ' ο
σοι δοκεῖ ἔτι τοῦδε προσδεῖσθαι ὁ φυλακικὸς ἐσόμενος πρὸς
θυμοειδεῖ ἔτι προσγενέσθαι φιλόσοφος τὴν φύσιν;" Plato does n
however, apply this to the relations between a general a
his army, and he certainly excludes the subjects in his id
state from the philosophic training of the guardians.

17. ἀνακεραννυμένης. The verb is not usually constru
with a dative in its metaphorical sense, rather with ἐκ or
and a genitive. Polybius, however, has it with εἰς and
accus. (8. 21. 3).

20. τοῦ μηδὲν εἶναι, κ.τ.λ. See Madvig. *Gr. Syn.* §§ 15 and 1

22. Δημάδης. Demades was an Athenian orator
politician. He was strongly opposed to Demosthenes,
enjoyed the favour of Philip and Alexander; but after
death of the latter was put to death by Antipater. He
cused himself for his Macedonian policy by saying, "ἄξιος ἐ
συγγνώμης πολιτευόμενος τὰ ναυάγια τῆς πόλεως," Plut.
Phoc. 1. Plutarch attributes several other ἀποφθέγμ

ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, but the abstract ἡγεμονία is used for 'imperium Romanum.' So Dionys. 3. 67, ἐξ ὧν μάλιστα τὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐπηυξήθη μέγεθος. Strabo, 17. 3. 25, ἡ πατρὶς ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ τὴν πρωτοστασίαν τῆς ἡγεμονίας.

τοῖς λεγομένοις. Conf. Plut. *Theaet.* 173 D, οἱ τῆς θαλάσσης λεγόμενοι χοῖροι, and the use of τὸ λεγόμενον = 'as the saying is.'

29. οὐχ οὕτως ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας, κ.τ.λ. So Verginius Rufus declined the overtures of Vindex, and resisted the wishes of his soldiers; Galba took no step till invited by Vindex, and proclaimed by his legion; Vitellius owed his advance mainly to the influence of Valens among the troops, and Vespasian was at first a passive agent in the hands of Titus and Mucianus. Otho alone deliberately aimed at and plotted for the empire.

29–30. τῶν ἀναγορευομένων αὐτοκρατόρων. αὐτοκράτωρ was the term used by the Greek historians for the Latin *imperator*. So Josephus *Ant. Iud.* 14. 10. 2 has Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἀρχιερεύς. Under the republic this title was conferred by his soldiers on a victorious general. Conf. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 74, "Tiberius Blaeso tribuit ut imperator a legionibus salutaretur prisco erga duces honore, qui bene gesta re publica gaudio et impetu victoris exercitus conclamabantur." Under the empire, imperator became a standing title of the princeps. Conf. Dio Cass. 52. 41 "καὶ τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐπίκλησιν ἐπέθετο. λέγω δὲ οὐ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον διδομένην τισίν ... ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑτέραν τὴν τὸ κράτος διασημαίνουσαν ὥσπερ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ Καίσαρι ... ἐψηφίσατο." This title was conferred in the first instance either by the senate or by the soldiers. By both it could be rightfully conferred, but it was considered more constitutional for the proclamation of the senate to come first. The technical expression was 'consalutare' or 'appellare,' the latter being generally used of the senate, *e.g.* in the acts of the Arval Brethren, "quod hoc die C. Caesar Augustus Germanicus e senatu appellatus est." For 'consalutari imperator' of the soldiers, see Tac. *Ann.* xii. 69 (of Nero), Suet. *Galb.* 10; *Oth.* 6; Tac. *Hist.* i. 57 (of Vitellius). Conf. also Appian, *Bell. Civ.* 2. 44.

30. φιλοπλουτίας, *i.e.* desire for the donative usually given by the new emperor (see cap. 2), though unwisely refused by Galba.

31. δι' ἀλλήλων, one after the other.

32. Διονύσιος, *i.e.* Dionysius the elder, tyrant of Syracuse, a number of whose ἀποφθέγματα are quoted by Plutarch.

33. Φεραῖον. Jason, tyrant of Pherae, and subsequently tagus of Thessaly, was assassinated in 370 B.C. He was

succeeded by his two brothers, Polydorus and Polyphro
Polydorus was almost immediately murdered, but Polyphr
was tagus for about a year before he was in his turn assa
sinated by his nephew, Alexander of Pherae. See Xen. *He*
vi. 4. 33-4, and conf. Plut. *Vit. Pelop.* 29. Polyphron ther
fore is the person here alluded to.

34. τὸν τραγικὸν ἀνεκάλει τύραννον. The 'king in
tragedy' is of course the actor whose kingship is limited
the brief space in which he appears on the stage. Co
Macb. v. 5—

> "A poor player,
> That struts and frets his hour upon the stage
> And then is heard no more."

36. τὸ Παλάτιον. The Palatium or Palatine Hill was t
site of the original Roman fortress, 'Roma quadrata.' T
name has been variously derived from the Pallantes w
came with Evander from Arcadia, from Palatium near Rea
or from Palari, with reference to the sheep which o
wandered over it. It is however probably connected w
the old shepherd-deity Pales. (Burn, *Rome and the Co*
pagna, p. 155.) The 'regia,' as the official residence of
pontifex maximus was situated on the slope
the Palatine, overlooking the Forum, and here Iulius Cae
lived. Augustus however gave up the 'regia' to the

37. τὸν μὲν εἰσαγόντων. On the omission of the subject of the gen. abs., see Madvig. *Gr. Syn.* § 181. 4 *a*.

39. τοῖς κακῶς πάσχουσι, *i.e.* the Roman people generally.

42. τὸν Σαλάσσανα, κ.τ.λ., *i.e.* Nymphidius Sabinus. See below.

42–44. ὅσον αὐτὸς ὑπέσχετο. For the amount of the donative which he promised in Galba's name, see below, cap. 2.

44. κάλλιστον ἔργον διαβαλὼν, κ.τ.λ. Placing the revolt from Nero, an action most honourable in itself, in the light of a treasonable deed by the reward he suggested.

Notice that Plutarch, who is not a scientific historian, shuts his eyes to all other causes of the revolutionary movements in the empire, except the insubordinate condition of the armies. It was no doubt an important fact that the armies now discovered their own power of creating an emperor, but the method of Tacitus is more satisfactory, who begins with a general view of the state of the city, the armies and the provinces, "ut non modo casus eventusque rerum, ... sed ratio causaeque noscantur," *Hist.* 1. 4 *seq.*

CHAPTER II.

1. Νυμφίδιος Σαβῖνος was the son of Nymphidia, a freedwoman. His father was probably Martianus, a gladiator (see below, cap. 9), though he himself claimed to be the son of Caligula (ib. and Tac. *Ann.* xv. 72). He was made praefectus praetorio in 65 after the conspiracy of Piso. On the news of the rising of Vindex, and his communication with Galba, he persuaded the praetorian guards to proclaim the latter, expecting under an old and feeble emperor himself to wield the real power. He deposed his colleague Tigellinus, and hoped to remain sole praefect. Finding, however, that Cornelius Laco was appointed co-praefect, and that Titus Vinius had a predominant influence with Galba, he attempted to secure his own proclamation as emperor by the praetorians. In this attempt he failed and was killed. See below, caps. 8-9, 13-15.

1–2. ὃν ἔταρχος τῆς αὐλῆς = praefectus praetorio. The Greek title was *ἔταρχοι τῶν δορυφόρων*, or *τῆς αὐλῆς καὶ τῶν δορ.* (c. 13), or *τῆς αὐλῆς* simply. The praefects were mere mandatories of the emperor's imperium, and were appointed by him. They had the command of the nine praetorianae

cohortes of 1,000 men each, who, since Tiberius, were quartered together in the camp just outside the Servian agger. As a check upon their possible abuse of power, the collegiate principle was usually applied to this post. The first two praefects were appointed by Augustus in 2 B.C. Q. Ostorius Scapula and Publius Salvius Aper (Dio Cass. 55. 10). There were instances, however, of the post being held by one only, *e.g.* Seius Strabo, the father of Seianus (Tac. *Ann.* i. 7); Seianus himself after his father's death (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 8); Burrus Afranius under Claudius (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 42). The praefects were, with very few exceptions (see Suet. *Tit.* 6) men of the equestrian order, being often promoted, as Tigellinus was, from the praefectura vigilum.

ὅσπερ ἄρτι. We learn from the catalogue of Lamprias that Plutarch wrote Αὐγούστου βίοι—Τιβέριος—Κλαύδιος—Νέρωνος βίοι—Γάιος Καῖσαρ—Γάλβας καὶ Ὄθων—Βιτέλλιος. Of these, however, all are lost except the lives of Galba and Otho.

2. μετὰ Τιγελλίνου. On the death of Burrus in 63, Sophonius Tigellinus and Faenius Rufus were made praefects (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 51). The latter was suspected of complicity in the conspiracy of Piso and executed, and thus Nymphidius Sabinus was made the colleague of Tigellinus.

3-4. ἀποδρασόμενος εἰς Αἴγυπτον. Conf. Dio Cass. 63. 27, "ὑπὸ πάντων δὲ ὁμοίως ἐγκαταλειφθεὶς ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν τοὺς τε βουλευτὰς ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ τὴν πόλιν καταπρῆσαι ἐς τε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πλεῦσαι· ὑπειπών ὅτι, "Ἂν καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκπέσωμεν, ἀλλὰ τόγε τέχνιον ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖ διαθρέψει."" Suetonius (*Ner.* 47) says that he thought of begging from Galba 'Aegypti praefecturam concedi sibi.'

7. τοῖς αὐλικοῖς καὶ στρατηγικοῖς. See above on the title ἔπαρχος τῆς αὐλῆς. The praetorians were called *aulici*, because one cohort was always on guard in the palace. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 69, "Egreditur ad cohortem, quae more militiae excubiis adest." Conf. also *Ann.* i. 7, "Excubiae, arma, cetera aulae," and ii. 34, xi. 37; *Hist.* i. 24, "Cohorti excubias agenti," and i. 38; Suet. *Oth.* 6. They were called στρατηγικοί from the republican custom of having a special cohort to guard the general's tent in camp (praetorium). So στρατηγός was the Greek equivalent for praetor (prae-itor), the original name for the supreme magistrate.

8. δραχμὰς ἑπτακισχιλίας πεντακοσίας. The Attic drachma, though slightly heavier in weight (4 grammes as against 3·41), was taken as an equivalent for the denarius. At this period 4 asses = 1 sesterce : 4 sesterces = 1 denarius. Accordingly

the donative promised to the praetorians per man was 7,500 denarii or 30,000 sesterces. This was by far the largest sum ever promised. Augustus in 42 B.C. gave 5,000 denarii to each of his soldiers (Dio Cass. 47. 42), while according to his will Tiberius paid each praetorian "singula nummum milia" (250 denarii), Tac. *Ann.* i. 8. Caligula (Dio Cass. 59. 2) paid them 2,000 sesterces each, 1,000 by the will of Tiberius, the other added by himself. It was Claudius who commenced the custom of giving a huge donative on accession to the praetorians. He gave 15,000 sesterces (3,750 denarii) to each (Suet. *Claud.* 10). Nero gave the same sum (Dio Cass. 61. 3). Nymphidius offers exactly double. He probably knew that Galba would refuse to pay the sum, and hoped to gain by the consequent dissatisfaction of the troops.

8–9. τοῖς δὲ ἐκτὸς στρατευομένοις, *i.e.* the legions posted in the different provinces. At the end of Nero's reign these were 28 in number, and each legion numbered 5,000 men.

9–10. πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας ἀπὸ χιλίας = 1250 denarii. The pay of a legionary soldier was 225 denarii per annum at this period: that of a praetorian, 720; and Augustus by his will left 250 denarii to each praetorian; 75 to each legionary, *i.e.* in both cases the proportion is rather less than 1 to 3. Nymphidius, however, only promises the legionaries ⅕th of what he gives the praetorians.

10. ὅσον ἀμήχανον ἦν συναγαγεῖν μή, κ.τ.λ. The praetorians would receive 30,000 sesterces × 9,000 = 270,000,000 sesterces. The legionaries would receive 5,000 sesterces × 5,000 × 28 = 700 million sesterces. The total donative would therefore be 970 million sesterces. An example of Nero's extravagance is given by Suetonius (*Ner.* 30), who says that he spent in entertaining Tiridates, the king of Armenia, 800,000 sesterces daily, and gave him a parting present of 100 million sesterces.

13–14. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ὡς ληψόμενοι προήκαντο. Plutarch is looking at the fall of Nero only so far as the revolt of the praetorians immediately caused it. Their motive was no doubt mere avarice; but the provinces and legions were actuated by other motives, of which Plutarch takes no account.

14–15. τὸν δὲ μὴ λαμβάνοντες ἀπέκτειναν. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 5, "Miles urbanus longo Caesarum sacramento inbutus et ad destituendum Neronem arte magis et inpulsu quam suo ingenio traductus, postquam neque dari donativum sub nomine Galbae promissum ... pronus ad res novas scelere insuper Nymphidii Sabini praefecti imperium sibi molientis agitatur."

16-17. ἐφθησαν ... ἀναλώσαντες αὐτοὺς ἢ, κ.τ.λ. The praetorians were employed by Otho in the campaign against Vitellius, and suffered considerably. After the battle of Bedriacum Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 67) says, "Proximus Vitellio e praetoriis cohortibus metus erat: separati primum, deinde addito honestae missionis lenimento arma ad tribunos suos deferebant" (*i.e.* they were disbanded). He goes on to say, however, that they were employed again by Vespasian "tum resumpta militia robur ... artium fuere." The donative, however, which they had from Vespasian was characteristically small. πέντε ... δραχμὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστος ἔλαβεν, Dio Cass. 65.

19. τῆς πραγματικῆς ἱστορίας ἐστὶ ... So Polybius says that it will be seen from his history πόσα καὶ πηλίκα συμβάλλεσθαι πέφυκε τοῖς φιλομαθοῦσιν ὁ τῆς πραγματικῆς ἱστορίας τρόπος (I. 2. 8). Elsewhere (*Vit. Fab.* 16) he describes detailed histories as διεξοδικὰς ἱστορίας. His object here was not to give a general history of the empire, but only of those events which had a close connection with the personal fortunes of the emperors. His work, however, is more historical than biographical, though narrowly limited in its range. (See Introduction, p. xxvii.) His aim in the other Lives is primarily a moral one, and is described clearly enough in the beginning of his life of Alexander. We may congratulate ourselves, however, that in spite of the somewhat ominous moralising of the first two chapters, these two lives, thanks no doubt to the nature of the authority he used, contain much useful information on certain points, and, especially with regard to the attempt of Nymphidius Sabinus, supplement the account of Tacitus.

21. συμπέπτωκεν, 'have a connection with.'

CHAPTER III.

1. Γάλβας Σουλπίκιος. Servius Sulpicius Galba was born in 5 B.C. near Terracina. His family was both ancient and noble (Suet. *Galb.* 2). The first to gain curule honours was Servius Galba, who, by his cruelty as propraetor of Spain, caused the Lusitanians under Viriathus to rise against the Romans (149 B.C.). His grandson, and Galba's great grandfather, was one of Caesar's legates in Gaul, and joined the conspiracy of Brutus and Cassius. Galba's father, a consular, was an industrious pleader in the courts, and married first

Mummia Achaica, granddaughter of Q. Lutatius Catulus, and great-granddaughter of L. Mummius, the conqueror of Greece. From this marriage the future emperor was born. A second marriage of his father with Livia Ocellina was not without important consequence for Galba, for she was extremely rich, and adopted her step-son by her will. After his adoption, and up to the time of his accession to the empire, Galba, in accordance with the rules of adoption, bore his adoptive mother's gentile name and the praenomen of her father, "mutato praenomine, nam Lucium pro Servio usque ad tempus imperii usurpavit" (Suet. *Galb.* 4). We know from a gladiatorial 'tessera' (C. I. L. 770), dating from his consulship 33 A.D., that his name during this time was L. Livius Sulpicius Galba. Conf. also C. I. Gr. 4957. He was a favourite of the Empress Livia, who left him by her will a legacy of 50,000,000 sesterces, which, however, owing to a flaw, Tiberius refused to let him have (Suet. *Galb.* 5). Through her influence he entered upon the usual course of honours before the usual time. After his praetorship he was proconsul of Aquitania. He held the consulship in 33 A.D., and under Caligula was appointed the successor of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, as legate of Upper Germany (Suet. *Galb.* 6, and conf. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 30). There he was distinguished for his strict discipline, and after the death of Caligula was made proconsul of Africa by Claudius. (See also Tac. *Hist.* i. 49.) For his successful administration here he received the "triumphalia ornamenta et sacerdotium triplex, inter quindecimviros, sodalesque Titios, item Augustales cooptatus" (Suet. *Galb.* 8). Under Nero he remained in retirement till the middle of the reign, when he was appointed legatus Hispaniae Tarraconensis, a post which he held for eight years (Suet. *Galb.* 9).

ἰδιώτης = "nullo gradu contingens Caesarum domum" (Suet. *Galb.* 2).

πλουσιώτατος, 'because he was the heir of Livia Ocellina, his step-mother, whom Suetonius describes as "ditem admodum."

2. *ὡς τὸν Καισάρων παρήλθεν οἶκον.* Conf. Suet. *Galb.* 11, "Deposita Legati suscepit Caesaris appellationem." His title in inscriptions and coins is usually Serv. Sulpicius Galba Imperator Caesar Augustus (Wilmanns, 915).

3. *μέγα ἔχων εὐγενείας ἄξίωμα.* Suetonius says (*Galb.* 2) that after he became emperor "Stemma in atrio proposuit quo paternam originem ad Jovem, maternam ad Pasiphaen Minois uxorem referret."

3–4. τὸν Σερουίων οἶκον. This is, of course, an inaccuracy on Plutarch's part, who was not well acquainted with the system of Roman names. Servius was not a gentile name at all, but a praenomen. At an earlier period it went almost entirely out of use except in the Sulpician and Cornelian 'gentes.' Plutarch should have said τὸν Σουλπικίων οἶκον. See, however, Tac. *Hist.* ii. 48, "Post Julios Claudios Servios se primum in familiam novam imper...m intulisse."

4–5. ἐπὶ τῇ Κάτλου συγγενείᾳ. Conf. Suet. *Galb.* 2, "Ut qui statuarum titulis pronepo... se Q. Catuli Capitolini semper adscripserit." His mother, ...mmia Achaica, was the granddaughter of Catulus.

5. πρωτεύσαντος ἀνδρὸς, κ.τ.λ. ...onf. Cic. *Or. post. red. in Sen.* 4. 9, "Audieram ex sapient... no homine atque optimo civi et viro Q. Catulo"; *pro Sest.* ... 101, "Qualis nuper Q. Catulus fuit, quem neque pericul... ...mpestas neque honoris aura potuit unquam de suo cursu ... demovere."

6. εἰ καὶ τὸ δύνασθαι, κ.τ.λ. Q. Lutatius Catulus Capitolinus was one of the leading optimates in the Ciceronian epoch (Cic. *in Pis.* 3. 6). Velleius Paterculus (ii. 43. 3) says that he was "omnium confessione senatus princeps" ('senatus princeps' being used here, as Mommsen has shown, not in its earlier technical sense, but simply as the 'foremost man in the senate.') In spite of his eminent position, however, we never find him playing a leading part, and in his candidature for the supreme pontificate he was defeated by Iulius Caesar (Suet. *Caes.* 13).

7–8. Ἦν δὲ Λιβία ... κατὰ γένος προσήκων. If Plutarch is right, the relationship is unknown. Suetonius only says (*Galb.* 5), "Observavit ante omnes Liviam Augustam: cujus et vivae gratia plurimum valuit, et mortuae testamento paene ditatus est." But probably Plutarch confuses Livia Ocellina with Livia Augusta. Suetonius says distinctly "Nullo gradu contingens Caesarum domum."

9–10. ὕπατος ἐκ Παλατίου προῆλθε. This was in the year 33 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 15; Suet. *Galb.* 6, "Consulatum per sex menses ordinarium gessit.") Tacitus (*Ann.* vi. 20) narrates the following incident: "Non omiserim praesagium Tiberii de Servio Galba tum consule: quem accitum et diversis sermonibus pertemptatum postremo Graecis verbis in hanc sententiam adlocutus est: Et tu, Galba, quandoque degustabis imperium." The term ὕπατος ἐκ Παλατίου implies that Plutarch supposed that the consulship could be conferred by the emperor, a view which Dio Cassius certainly held (58, 20). With regard to the other magistracies the emperors from the

first had the right of 'commending' a certain number were to be elected as a matter of course. Conf. Tac. *An* 15, "Moderante Tiberio ne plures quam quatuor candid (*i.e.* for the praetorship) commendaret, sine repulsa et am designandos," and the candidates so commended were c 'candidati Caesaris.' Thus we find on inscriptions 'pr candidatus Caesaris,' etc., and *ὕπατος ἐκ Παλατίου* is appare intended to be 'consul candidatus Caesaris.' But, as Mo sen points out, the passage (Tac. *Ann.* i. 81) "De con consularibus," etc., clearly proves that in Tiberius' time 'commendatio' did not apply to the consulship, and the elections were in the hands of the senate, although emperor, as having the right of nominating, *i.e.* receiving names of candidates, could no doubt practically exerci predominating influence. However it is clear from *Hist.* i. 77 ("Ceteri consulatus e destinatione Neronis Galbae mansere") that from Nero's time the consuls fixed by the emperor, whether by 'commendatio' o direct appointment. The origin of *ὕπατος*, the uni equivalent for 'consul,' is interesting. The earliest n for the two supreme magistrates was praetores (prae-ito *i.e.* leaders in war, and so naturally rendered by the G *στρατηγοί*. When a third colleague was appointed to su intend the civil procedure, the two original magistrates called 'praetores maximi,' and the third colleague 'prae simply. Then the two former were called 'consules,' praetor lost its originally military sense. The Greek pression for 'praetor maximus' was *στρατηγὸς ὕπατος*, and Greek inscriptions show that the consuls were actually c by this title. By the time of Polybius, however, it shortened into *ὕπατος*, and this remained the uniform te *στρατηγός* being still used for praetor.

10–11. *στρατεύματος ἐν Γερμανίᾳ καλῶς ἄρξας.* He ceeded Gaetulicus (see above) as legate of Upper Germ The two Germanies were not provinces in the same sens most of the other imperial provinces. Since the defe Varus, the Rhine had remained the frontier of the em and the German provinces were simply strips of territor the Gallic side of the river, along which the legions posted. Hence, as Mommsen points out, the history of t provinces is little more than the history of the Ger legions, and while we sometimes find in inscriptions 'leg Germaniae inferioris *or* superioris,' we just as often 'legatus exercitus Germanici' (Wilmanns, 867), or 'leg Germaniae superioris et exercitus in ea tendentis' (W 1186). Suetonius (*Galb.* 6) says "postridie quam ad legi venit, sollemni forte spectaculo plaudentes inhibuit,

...s a proconsul was chos
ntness. Thus in 21 A.D. on t
Africa, Tiberius wrote to the s
gendum pro consule gnarum mili
suffecturum" (Tac. *Ann.* iii. 32);
M'. Lepidum et Junium Blaesum
Africae legeretur." Similarly Su
Suetonius (*Galb.* 7) says, "Extra so
provinciam, et intestina dissensione
quietam." It was as a reward fo
and Africa that he received the 'tri

12–18. Τὸ δὲ σκολιὸν αὐτοῦ τῆς
tented way of living, his economy
simple habits brought upon him, aft
charge of meanness which he continu
mistimed reputation for frugality and

ἀκλεοῦς = stale; belonging to a previ
date. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 5, "Nec de
atque avaritiam Galbae increpantium."

16. Τριετίαν ἄρξαντα = 'legatus His
Suetonius says (*Galb.* 9), "Per octo an
provinciam rexit. Primo acer et vehe
quidem delictis vel immodicus ... .
segnitiamque conversus est, ne qui
Neroni, et, ut dicere solebat, quod
reddere cogeretur."

16–17. οὕτω διδιαγμένου, κ.τ.λ.
Nero's reign ('quinquennium Neroni
capable provincial admi
out as provin

CHAPTER IV.

1. **τῶν ἀλιτηρίων ἐπιτρόπων**, 'the accursed procurators.' Plutarch speaks strongly as a provincial who had probably seen too much of the procedure of these officials. In every imperial province there was a procurator, quite independent of the legatus, to manage the financial affairs of the province. This was the 'procurator provinciae.' But in addition, both in imperial and senatorial provinces, there were special procurators to manage the emperor's private estates and also for the collection of particular taxes, such as the 'vicesima hereditatis' or the 'vicesima libertatis.' These procurators invariably belonged to the equestrian order. To the native Britons the legate and the procurator seemed like two kings, the one with power over their lives, the other over their properties (Tac. *Agric.* 15). Frequently the legate and procurator were on unfriendly terms. Nero had to send Polyclitus to compose a quarrel in Britain between Suetonius Paulinus and the procurator Classicianus, while it is mentioned of Agricola in Aquitania (Tac. *Agric.* 9) as something noteworthy that he was "procul a contentione adversus procuratores." The relations of Galba in particular with the procurators in the province are illustrated by Suetonius (*Galb.* 9), "Nam et mandata Neronis de nece sua ad procuratores clam missa deprehenderat." Subsequently he seems to have revenged himself: Suet. *Galb.* 12, "Praepositos procuratoresque supplicio capitis affecit cum coniugibus et liberis."

2. **τὰς ἐπαρχίας** = 'provincias.'

ἐκείνῳ, in Nero's interest.

διαφορούντων, 'plundering.'

3. **αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ φανερὸς εἶναι συναλγῶν**. See Madv. *Gr. Syn.* § 160 and 177 *b*.

5. **τοῖς καταδικαζομένοις**. Under Augustus the procurators had no sort of judicial power over the provincials, and when Lucilius Capito, procurator of Asia, was accused by the province (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 15) Tiberius asserted, "Non se ius nisi in servitia et pecunias familiares dedisse; quod si vim praetoris usurpasset manibusque militum usus foret, aspreta in eo mandata sua." And Dio Cass. says distinctly (57. 23), "*οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν τότε τοῖς τὰ αὐτοκρατορικὰ χρήματα διοικοῦσι πλέον οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἢ τὰς πενομισμένας προσόδους ἐκλέγειν καὶ περὶ τῶν διαφορῶν ἔν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἰδιώταις δικάζεσθαι.*" This was, however, soon altered: Tac. *Ann.* xii. 60, "Mox alias per provincias et in urbe pleraque concessa sunt, quae

olim a praetoribus noscebantur"; and "Eodem anno saepius audita vox principis (Claudii), parem vim rerum habendam a procuratoribus suis iudicatarum ac si ipse statuisset"; and *ad fin.* "Cum Claudius libertos, quos rei familiari praefecerat, sibique et legibus adaequaverit." From this time the procurators could themselves decide all disputes about taxes, etc., and could cause the property of provincials to be sold up.

8. οὐκ ἐκάλυεν οὐδὲ συνηγανάκτει ... **τοῖς ἐπιτρ.** For this at any rate Galba might have cited Nero's own conduct in his defence. For Suetonius says (*Ner.* 39), "Mirum et vel praecipue notabile inter haec fuit nihil eum patientius quam maledicta et convicia hominum tulisse: neque in ullos leniorem, quam qui se dictis aut carminibus lacessissent, exstitisse." As examples of these 'carmina' Suetonius mentions the following: "Quis negat Aeneae magna de stirpe Neronem? Sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem"; and with reference to the 'Aurea domus,' "Roma domus fiet: Veios migrate, Quirites; Si non et Veios occupat ista domus."

10. συνήθης, 'familiar with the province.'

ἔτος ὄγδοον. The imperial provinces were held during the pleasure of the emperor. The important military provinces were held as a rule for not more than three or at most five years, but the smaller provinces without military command were frequently held longer. Thus Rutilius Gallicus was legate of Pamphylia for nine years (Stat. *Silv.* i. 4, 77); Otho was legate of Lusitania for ten years (Suet. *Oth.* 3).

11-12. Ἰούνιος Οὐίνδιξ ... Γαλατίας ὢν στρατηγός. C. Iulius (not Iunius) Vindex was a Gaul by race, belonging to one of the royal families in Aquitania, but his father was a Roman senator (Dio Cass. 63. 23), having probably been appointed by Claudius (see Tac. *Ann.* xi. 23, 24). The title **Γαλατίας στρατηγός**, = 'Galliae praetor,' is not officially correct. Gaul was divided into four provinces—G. Narbonensis, governed by a proconsul as a senatorial province; and G. Aquitania, G. Lugdunensis, and G. Belgica, governed by 'legati Augusti pro praetore.' Vindex could not have been governor of Narbonensis, or he would have been **ἀνθύπατος**; and, besides, the province was so thoroughly Romanised that there would be no possibility of its rising; nor of Belgica, which he invaded when the warlike operations began; nor of Aquitania, because the legate of Aquitania implored Galba's help against the rising (Suet. *Galb.* 9). He was therefore 'legatus Augusti pro praetore Galliae Lugdunensis.' **στρατηγός** is used incorrectly for **ἀντιστρατηγός**, just as 'praetor' is occasionally used instead of 'propraetor.'

ἀπειθήσῃ Νέρωνι. The real importance of this rising of Vindex has generally been misunderstood. Vindex is usually represented, as moved by the cruelties, outrages, and un-Roman extravagances of Nero, to have aimed at liberating the empire from this degrading and oppressive yoke, and conferring it on Galba as a worthier representative. The account given by Xiphilinus, the epitomator of Dio Cassius, is mainly the foundation for this view, where Vindex is made to address his assembled Gauls in a speech recalling Nero's σφαγαὶ καὶ ἁρπαγαὶ καὶ ὕβρεις, how he had appeared on the stage, acted and sung in public, and desecrated the sacred names of Caesar, Imperator and Augustus (Dio Cass. 63. 62). This view, however, is not probable in itself, nor is it consistent with statements made by Tacitus, Plutarch, and Josephus. It is not probable in itself, because the excesses of emperors like Caligula, Nero, and Domitian affected Rome itself, but not the provinces, which as long as they were fairly administered did not concern themselves with the emperor's doings in his own capital. Nor do we find the smallest trace of a similar feeling with regard to Nero in any of the other provinces. On the other hand, looking at the history of the Gallic provinces both before and after this event, we see that the rising of Vindex takes its place as one of a series of attempts to establish an independent Gallic empire. The attempt had been made under Tiberius by Iulius Florus and Iulius Sacrovir (Tac. *Ann.* iii. 40, 41, 42, and 46); and two years after the death of Vindex it was again suggested to the Gauls by Civilis, and an attempt, though not an entirely unanimous one, was made to establish Gallic freedom. See especially Tac. *Hist.* iv. 17, "Quid si Galliae iugum exuant? ... ne Vindicis aciem cogitarent: Batavo equite protritos Aeduos Arvernosque; fuisse inter Verginii auxilia Belgas, vereque reputantibus Galliae suismet viribus concidisse"; also iv. 54, 55, 57. Again Dio Cassius himself incidentally mentions as one cause of the rising the heavy burden of the tribute (63. 22), "τοὺς Γαλάτας πολλὰ πεπονθότας τε ἐν ταῖς συχναῖς εἰσπράξεσι τῶν χρημάτων καὶ ἔτι πάσχοντας ὑπὸ Νέρωνος"; and this we learn from Tacitus was the main cause of the two other attempts, *Ann.* iii. 40, "Seditiosa disserebant de continuatione tributorum, gravitate faenoris," etc., and *Hist.* iv. 17, "Admonebat malorum, quae tot annis perpessi miseram servitutem falso pacem vocarent." More important still is the evidence afforded by Tacitus when he makes Vocula, one of the Roman generals against Civilis, expressly place the rising under Tiberius, and that of Vindex in the same category as that of Civilis: *Hist.* iv. 57, "Sic olim Sacrovirum et Aeduos, nuper Vindicem Galliasque singulis proeliis conci-

disse." Again, such expressions as "adiutos Vindicis conatus" (*Hist.* i. 65), "sedem Gallici belli" as applied to Vienna (id. ib.), "quae motu Vindicis haud perinde plebem attriverant, secura tum urbe et provinciali bello, quod inter legiones Galliasque velut externum fuit" (*Hist.* i. 80), "nec socios, ut olim, sed hostes et victos vocabant" (*Hist.* i. 51), all point to a much greater bitterness of feeling between the German legions and the Gallic provinces than can be accounted for by the usual view as to the aims of Vindex. That Vindex did offer the empire to Galba is undoubted, but this has little bearing upon his real aims, because we find that Civilis at first cloaked his real intentions by professing to maintain the cause of Vespasian, "Sed consilii ambiguus et vim Romanam reputans, cunctos qui aderant in verba Vespasiani adigit" (*Hist.* iv. 21), while on a later occasion he sought to disarm Cerialis by offering him the "imperium Galliarum" (*Hist.* iv. 75). Similarly, there can be little doubt, Vindex simply intended to use Galba and the legion which he commanded as a catspaw and a means of blinding Verginius Rufus and the German legions to his real designs. That he failed to do this we shall see below, where it will be more convenient to deal with Plutarch's evidence on the matter. Incidental confirmation of the view taken above is given by Josephus, who uses such phrases as '*τὸν κατὰ τὴν Γαλατίαν πόλεμον*,' '*τὸ περὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν κίνημα*,' '*τὸ Κελτικὸν οὐκ ἠρέμει*,' '*Οὐίνδιξ ἅμα τοῖς δυνατοῖς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀφεστὼς Νέρωνος*.'

12-13. *πρὸ τῆς ἐμφανοῦς ἀποστάσεως.* Of these letters before the rising we hear nothing in other authorities.

14. *οἷς μήτε πιστεῦσαι, κ.τ.λ.*, 'which, though he placed no confidence in them, he neither betrayed nor denounced.'

15. *τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν*, of the provincial governors. The legatus Aquitaniae may have been one of these, since we learn from Suetonius (*Galb.* 9) that he afterwards implored Galba's help against Vindex. Verginius Rufus may have been another; possibly also Fonteius Capito, legate of lower Germany, who at any rate was afterwards put to death in Galba's interest (Tac. *Hist.* i. 7). If, however, these and other provincial governors did denounce the designs of Vindex to Nero, they seem not to have won his confidence by so doing, for Suetonius (*Nero* 43) says, "Creditur destinasse successores percussoresque summittere exercitus et provincias regentibus, quasi conspiratis, idemque et unum sentientibus."

17. *ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς*, 'as far as in them lay.'

18. *μετασχόντες*, *i.e.* passively, by acknowledging Galba.
Vindex.

20. τὸν πόλεμον ἐκφῆναι, a term much more appropriate to a national rising than a mere revolt to put down Nero for Galba, and besides war was declared before Galba was definitely invited to lead it.

21. παρακαλῶν ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, 'inviting him to accept the imperium.' Conf. Dio Cass. 63. 23, "οὐχ ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν πράττων ὁ Βίνδιξ, τὸν Γάλβαν, τὸν Σερουΐου τὸν Σουλπίκιον, ἐπιεικείᾳ τε καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ πολέμων διαπρέποντα καὶ τῆς Ἱβηρίας ἄρχοντα, δύναμιν τε οὐ μικρὰν ἔχοντα, εἰς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν προεχειρίσατο."

22–26. ἰσχυρῷ σώματι ζητοῦντι κεφαλήν, ταῖς Γαλατίαις, κ.τ.λ. Very noteworthy is the difference between Plutarch's words, which distinctly represent the Gallic provinces as the body in need of a head, and those of Suetonius (*Galb.* 9). "Supervenerunt et Vindicis literae hortantis ut humano generi adsertorem ducemque se accommodaret," where the view, afterwards taken by Dio Cassius, is implied that Vindex was freeing the human race, *i.e.* the whole empire, from the monster, Nero.

23–24. δέκα μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν ὡπλισμένων ἐχούσαις. Gallia Lugdunensis was one of the 'inermes provinciae': Tac. *Hist.* i. 16, "Non Vindex cum inermi provincia, aut ego cum una legione." But, as we know in the case of the Helvetii (Tac. *Hist.* i. 67), the Gallic cantons, 64 in number, into which Augustus divided the 'tres Galliae,' had each their own militia reserve, over which the municipal magistrates of the 'pagi' had the disposal in times of special crisis. It was these native troops which Vindex had now collected. The statement that they numbered 200,000 men is probably only a piece of Gallic bravado. Tacitus expressly says that they were all killed in the battle with Verginius. But at any rate these militia troops were mostly "ante discrimen feroces, in periculo pavidi" (Tac. *Hist.* i. 68).

25. προσθῆκε βουλὴν τοῖς φίλοις. Suetonius only says (*Galb.* 9), "Nec diu cunctatus conditionem, partim metu, partim spe, recepit."

28. Τίτος Οὐίνιος. Titus Vinius Rufinus, according to Tacitus, 'deterrimus mortalium,' was the first of his family to attain consular rank. His father was of a praetorian family, and his maternal (or according to Dio Cass. 47. 7 his paternal) grandfather was proscribed by the second triumvirate. He served as tribunus militum under Calvisius Sabinus, legate of Pannonia in Caligula's reign, but was disgraced on account of an intrigue with his general's wife (see below, cap. 12). Under Claudius he passed through the

ordinary 'cursus honorum,' and after his praetorship made legatus legionis. Subsequently, in spite of a susp of petty dishonesty (see cap. 12), he was made procons Gallia Narbonensis, and lastly was Galba's legate in His Tarraconensis. See Tac. *Hist.* i. 48.

28–29. ὁ τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ τάγματος ἡγεμών. This seems to represent 'praetorius cohortis praefectus,' and unusual one for imperial times, as since Augustus orga the cohortes praetoriae at Rome the title praefectus pra was confined to the commanders of these special troops. at the end of the republic each independent general l cohors praetoria to guard his person. Conf. Cic. *ad* 10. 30, "Antonius eduxit ... cohortes praetorias duas, suam, alteram Silani." This cohort consisted eith veterans ('evocati') who voluntarily served under general, or sometimes of Roman equites. See Poly 31. 2, "οἱ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἱππέων ἐπίλεκτοι, καὶ τινε ἐθελοντὴν στρατευομένων τῇ τῶν ὑπάτων χάριτι." Pl himself elsewhere (*Vit. Ant.* 53) calls these "στρα ἐπιλέκτους εἰς στρατηγικὰς πείρας κεκοσμημένους." Now nius tells us that Galba revived this republican c (*Galb.* 10), "Delegit et equestris ordinis invenes manente anulorum aureorum usu, evocati appellar

CHAPTER V.

1. προγράμματι, by edict.

2–3. ἐν ᾗ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἐλευθερώσας ἀποδόσει τοῖς δεομένοις. Conf. Suet. *Galb.* 10, "Cum quasi manumissione vacaturus conscendisset tribunal." The ordinary mode of manumission was 'per vindictam.' It was a fictitious suit brought before a consul, praetor, or a provincial governor, whose lictor took the part of 'adsertor libertatis.' The master took the slave's hand, and with the words 'hunc hominem liberum esse volo' let him go, when the lictor with a rod ('vindicta') touched the slave in token of his freedom. Occasionally the provincial governors performed this office for their friends on the way to their provinces. Conf. Plin. *Ep.* vii. 16. 4, "Hic (Calaestrius Trio) nunc pro consule provinciam Baeticam per Ticinum est petiturus. Spero me impetraturum ut ex itinere deflectat ad te, si voles vindicta liberare quos proxime inter amicos manumisisti." The date of Galba's tribunal was probably April 2.

3. Οὐκ ἐφθη γοῦν, κ.τ.λ., 'no sooner, however, had he appeared on the tribunal than,' etc.

6–7. αὐτοκράτορα προσεῖπον. See above on cap. 1. 30, and conf. Suet. *Galb.* 10, "Consalutatus imperator."

8. κατηγορήσας δὲ τοῦ Νέρωνος. Conf. Suet. *Galb.* 10, "Deploravit temporum statum."

9. τῶν ἀνῃρημένων ἀνδρῶν, κ.τ.λ. Conf. Suet. *Galb.* 10, "Propositis ante se damnatorum occisorumque a Nerone quam plurimis imaginibus." Some of the more illustrious of Nero's victims were Rubellius Plautus (Tac. *Ann.* 14. 22), Plautius Lateranus (*Ann.* 15. 60), Calpurnius Piso (15. 59), Atticus Vestinus (15. 69), C. Cassius (16. 7), L. Iunius Silanus (16. 7), Titus Petronius (16. 18), Thrasea Paetus (16. 24 *seq.*), Domitius Corbulo (Dio Cass. 63. 17), Scribonius Rufus and Scribonius Proculus (id. ib.), and Sulpicius Camerinus and his son (id. ib.).

11–12. οὔτε Καίσαρ οὔτε αὐτοκράτωρ. When the news of Nero's death came, Suetonius (cap. 11) says, "Deposita Legati suscepit Caesaris appellationem."

12–13. στρατηγὸς δὲ συγκλήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων. Conf. Suet. *Galb.* 10, "Legatum se senatus ac populi Romani professus est." The lesson 'posse principem alibi quam Romae fieri' was not yet thoroughly learnt. The senate had been made by Augustus a sharer, though an unequal one, in the sovereign power, and in case of an interregnum it was the

senate which constitutionally had to confer the impe
On such occasions there was always a party in favo
restoring liberty under a senatorial régime, *e.g.* afte
death of Caligula (Suet. *Claud.* 10), "Nam consules
senatu et cohortibus urbanis forum capitoliumque occupa
adserturi communem libertatem"; and in times of uncert
as to the successor to the throne, recourse was usually h
an interim senatorial authority. Galba's action on this
sion is a case in point. So Verginius Rufus, when
imperium was offered to him by his troops, "ἔτεινεν
βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ποιήσασθαι ... τῇ γὰρ γερουσίᾳ καὶ τῷ
προσήκειν τοῦτο (τὸ κράτος διδόναι) ἔλεγε" (Dio Cass. 63.
Again, the German legions, when they refused to acknow
Galba, "Proiectis Galbae imaginibus in senatus ac p
Romani verba iuraverunt" (Tac. *Hist.* i. 56).

συγκλήτου. The official rendering of 'senatus' in C
was always ἡ σύγκλητος (βουλή), a term which the Ro
doubtless derived from the Campanian Greeks of Cumae
Naples, where in early inscriptions the phrase δό
συγκλήτου occurs (C. I. Gr. 5799), whereas it is never f
in Greece proper or the East. σύγκλητος is the term us
the proclamation of Flamininus (196 B.C.) and usuall
Polybius, who (10. 18. 1) opposes the Carthaginian γε

15. ἐπιστάσατο μάρτυρι τῷ Νέρωνι, 'he found a proof in the evidence of Nero.'

16–17. παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγήσθαι τὰ Γαλατῶν. Conf. Suet. *Ner.* 40, "Neapoli de motu Galliarum cognovit die ipso quo matrem occiderat (March 19) adeoque lente ac secure tulit, ut gaudentis etiam suspicionem praeberet"; and Dio Cass. 63. 26, "*ὁ δὲ Νέρων μαθὼν τὰ περὶ τὸν Βίνδικα ἐν Νεαπόλει τὸν γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα ἀπ' ἀρίστου θεωρῶν οὐκ ἐλυπήθη ... οὐτ' εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείχθη.*"

17–18. ἅμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τὰ περὶ Γάλβαν, *κ.τ.λ.* Conf. Suet. *Ner.* 42, "Postquam deinde etiam Galbam et Hispanias descivisse cognovit, collapsus, animoque male fracto diu et sine voce, et prope intermortuus iacuit," and Dio Cass. 63. 27.

18–19. ἀνέτρεψε τὴν τράπεζαν. Conf. Suet. *Ner.* 47, "Nuntiata interim etiam ceterorum exercituum defectione, literas prandenti sibi redditas concerpsit, mensam subvertit."

19–20. συγκλήτου ψηφισαμένης πολέμιον τὸν Γάλβαν. This was a right which the senate had gradually gained during the period of revolution, and it was a development from the original custom of appointing a dictator in times of crisis. The steps of the development are as follows:—(1) The dictator was appointed at the discretion of the consuls. (2) The senate was usually consulted by the consuls before they made a nomination. (3) The senate took the initiative and instructed the consuls to appoint a dictator. (4) The senate appointed a dictator itself. (5) When dictators were no longer appointed, in the revolutionary period, it grew to be the custom to treat those Roman citizens who bore arms against their country, or those who caused an insurrection either in the city or outside, as *hostes*, *i.e.* as deprived of the Roman civitas and all its accompanying privileges and safeguards, and therefore as liable to be killed by any one without any breach of law. On such occasions it was the senate which took the initiative by instructing the consuls to take care 'ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat.' This was called 'senatus consultum ultimum,' and practically established a state of siege and the application of martial law. The earliest exercise of this right was against Caius Gracchus when the senate "*ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ προσέταξαν Ὀπιμίῳ τῷ ὑπάτῳ σώζειν τὴν πόλιν ὅπως δύναιτο, καὶ καταλύειν τοὺς τυράννους*" (Plut. *Vit. C. Gracch.* cap. 14); conf. also cap. 18, "*οὗτος* (Opimius) *μέντοι πρῶτος ἐξουσίᾳ δικτάτωρος ἐν ὑπατείᾳ χρησάμενος.*" Although the legality of this procedure was at first doubted, *e.g.* by Q. Mucius Scaevola, who in the case of Tiberius Gracchus had declared as consul "*βίας οὐδεμιᾶς ὑπάρξειν οὐδὲ ἀναιρήσειν οὐδένα τῶν πολιτῶν ἄκριτον*" (Plut. *Tib. Gracch.* 19), it was soon re-

cognised as constitutional. It was employed against Saturninus 100 B.C. (Cic. *pro Rabir. ad pop.* 7. 20, 21), and by Cicero against the Catilinarian conspirators; and conf. Cic. *pro Mil.* 26. 70, "Quis hoc credat Cn. Pompeium iuris publici, moris maiorum, rei denique publicae peritissimum, cum senatus ei commiserit, ut videret, ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet, quo uno versiculo satis armati semper consules fuerunt, etiam nullis armis datis, hunc exercitu, hunc dilectu dato iudicium expectaturum fuisse in eius consiliis vindicandis qui vi iudicia ipsa tolleret"; also Caes. *B. G.* cap. 29. (6) Whereas at first the senate merely put this extreme power into the hands of the consuls, and left them to apply it against any citizens they deemed dangerous, the last stage is reached where the senate itself mentions certain individuals as the objects of this extraordinary power, thereby declaring them to be 'hostes publici.' Thus in 87 B.C. "duodecim (i.e. of the Marian faction) a senatu hostes, inter quos C. Marius pater et filius, iudicati sunt" (Liv. *Epit.* 77); also Sall. *Cat.* 36, "Senatus Catilinam et Manlium hostes iudicat." For the case of Dolabella and Antonius, see Liv. *Epit.* 119, and Cic. *Phil.* 4. 9. Under the empire this right of the senate to declare individuals to be public enemies still existed, but was practically limited to two modes of exercise, (1) as an instrument used for the ends of the emperor, who by means of the 'senatus consultum ultimum' could dispense with the ordinary criminal procedure. Conf. Suet. *Calig.* 7, "Neronem et Drusum senatus Tiberio criminante hostes iudicavit," and the present use of the declaration against Galba (2) as a means of deposing the emperor himself. So in the case of Nero, Suetonius says that in his flight from the palace he received a message in which he read 'so hostem a senatu iudicatum et quaeri ut puniatur more maiorum.'

21-22. οὐ φαύλην ἔφη πρόρρησιν, κ.τ.λ., 'said that the proclamation had come at no bad moment since he was in want of some means of getting money.' Most editors have supposed that πρόρρησιν must here mean 'pretence,' and some have conjectured πρόφασιν. This, however, is quite unnecessary. The word is used in its ordinary meaning, and refers to the ψήφισμα of the senate just mentioned. The difficulty in the sentence lies in the word λογισμοῦ, but it is not met by reading ἐκ λογισμοῦ, nor by the more violent change into χρηματισμοῦ.

23. καὶ τὰ μὲν Γαλατῶν, κ.τ.λ. Conf. Suet. *Ner.* 40, "Ut gaudentis etiam suspicionem praeberet, tanquam occasione nata spoliandarum iure belli opulentissimarum provinciarum," and Dio Cass. 63. 26, "χαίρων τοῖς ἠγγελμένοις, ὅτι ἄλλως τε κατακρατήσειν τοῦ Βίνδικος ἤλπιζε, καὶ ὑπόθεσιν ἀργυρισμοῦ καὶ

φίλων εὐληφέναι ἐδόκει"; also Tac. *Hist.* i. 51, "Ut cui (*i.e.* the German army) sine labore et periculo ditissimi belli victoria evenisset." Josephus bears witness (*Bell. Iud.* 2. 16. 4) to the wealth and prosperity of the Gallic provinces, while the Aedui in particular are spoken of as "pecunia dites et voluptatibus opulenti" (Tac. *Hist.* iii. 46).

24. λαφυραγωγήσεσθαι, 'that he would carry off as booty.' καὶ λίαν is inserted after this in the MSS. and early editions, but if it is not an interpolation of some kind, the passage is corrupt.

24–25. ἡ δὲ Γάλβα πάρεστιν οὐσία χρῆσθαι, κ.τ.λ. Confiscation of property was always a consequence of being declared a public enemy. Conf. Plut. *C. Gracch.* 17, "καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἀνέδοντο πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον"; Cic. *ad Fam.* 10. 21. 4, "Hostibus denique omnibus iudicatis bonisque publicatis"; also Sall. *Cat.* 51. 43.

27–28. ὅσα Νέρωνος ἦν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ. These would be the 'res privatae' or 'res familiares' of the emperor, which were always under the administration of procuratores. They consisted either in landed property or in various industrial undertakings, such as brick-making, mining, etc. They might be situated either in Italy or in the provinces. The Thracian Chersonese, *e.g.*, was an imperial domain (Dio Cass. 54. 29); and so under Trajan we find (C. I. L. iii. 726) a "procurator Augusti regionis Chersonesi," while we know that Nero owned vast estates in Africa (Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.* v., p. 649). In Spain the gold mines and the copper mines in Lusitania formed an important part of the emperor's private estate. (Conf. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 19.) Many of these estates were gained by confiscation, as the 'bona damnatorum' (Dio Cass. 59. 22, and Suet. *Vesp.* 16). Nero in particular may have gained property in Spain in this way, as Seneca and the poet Lucan, who were put to death in consequence of the conspiracy of Piso, were both Spaniards and both rich.

CHAPTER VI.

1. Ἀφισταμένων δὲ πολλῶν. Conf. Suet. *Ner.* 47, "Nuntiata interim etiam ceterorum exercituum defectione." The doings of Nero in Rome and his preparations to resist the rising of Vindex and Galba, which in a regular history should be inserted here, are no doubt contained in the lost Life of Nero. Suetonius tells us some of the wild schemes attributed to Nero, such as to have all exiles and all Gauls in Rome

murdered, to poison the whole senate, to set the city on fi
etc. But from Tacitus we learn incidentally that more seric
measures were taken. A new legion was hastily enroll
from the sailors of the fleet at Misenum, and a number
troops which had been detached from their headquarters
Germany, Britain, and Illyricum for an expedition agai
the Albani, a tribe near the Caspian Sea, were hastily recal
to Rome (Tac. *Hist.* i. 6 and 70).

2–3. Κλώδιος Μάκρος ἐν Λιβύῃ. The administration
Africa differed from that of all the other provinces. Wh
Augustus made the division between himself and the sen
in 27 B.C. he took those which were garrisoned by legions
himself, and gave the 'inermes provinciae' to the sena
Only in the case of Africa did he make an exception. T
was a senatorial province under a proconsul, but was g
risoned by a legion, the III. Augusta (Tac. *Hist.* iv. 4
But Caligula, not liking to entrust a legion to a senato
proconsul, instead of making the province an imperial o
took the unprecedented course of retaining the proconsul,
sending to the same province a 'legatus Augusti pro praeto
to command the troops in it. This naturally led to dispu
between the two. The proconsul with his twelve fasces
the highest in formal rank, but the legate, with the army

was contending not for Nero, but for himself. In addition to the legio III. Augusta which he commanded, he enrolled a new legion ("in Africa legio cohortesque delectae a Clodio Macro," Tac. *Hist.* ii. 97), which, as we know from coins (Mionnet, i. p. 140), he called legio I. Macriana Liberatrix, and began a reckless course of plunder and violence against all who did not support his claims. This was not calculated to make him a really formidable rival to Galba (conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 11, "Africa ... contenta qualicumque principe post experimentum domini minoris"), who soon caused him to be assassinated by Trebonius Garutianus, a procurator. "Macrum in Africa haud dubie turbantem Trebonius Garutianus procurator iussu Galbae interfecerat" (Tac. *Hist.* i. 7). Conf. also Tac. *Hist.* i. 11. 37, ii. 97, iv. 49; Plut. *Galb.* 13 and 15. One of the murderers of Macer was afterwards employed to murder L. Piso, the proconsul, and is said "cruentas legati sanguine manus ad caedem proconsulis rettulisse" (Tac. *Hist.* iv. 49).

3–4. Οὐεργίνιος Ῥοῦφος τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγούμενος. L. Verginius Rufus was born 15 A.D. (Plin. *Ep.* ii. 1. 4) in a municipal town not far from Comum, of an equestrian family (Tac. *Hist.* i. 52). He, however, obtained senatorial rank, passed through the ordinary 'cursus honorum,' till he gained the consulship in 63 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 23). In the last year of Nero's reign he was 'legatus Germaniae superioris.' For the part he played in the revolutionary movements of the time see below, and Introduction, p. lxvii He was recalled from Germany by Galba, "per simulationem amicitiae" (Tac. *Hist.* i. 8; Plut. *Galb.* 10). On the accession of Otho a second consulship was conferred on him for the two months beginning March 1, 69 (Tac. *Hist.* i. 77), "ut aliquod exercitui Germanico delenimentum." He accompanied Otho on the campaign against Vitellius, and after the battle of Bedriacum was again obliged to refuse the offered imperium (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 49 and 51). Pardoned by Vitellius (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 68) he spent the last thirty years of his life mostly in the retirement of his country estates in Transpadane Italy. He was guardian to Pliny the Younger, in whose career he took a kindly interest. A third consulship was conferred on him by Nerva in 97 A.D., but whilst returning thanks for the honour in the senate, he slipped and broke his hip, and died before the end of the year (Plin. *Ep.* ii. 1. 1). He was honoured with a public funeral, and his panegyric was pronounced by Tacitus. The epitaph upon his tomb, written by himself, was—"Hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice quondam Imperium asseruit non sibi sed patriae" (Plin. *Ep.* ix. 19. 1). Conf. Dio Cass. 68. 2.

6. πραγμάτων = property; in strong antithesis to *ἀνδρῶν*.

8. δῆλος ἦν ἐν τῷ μήτε κατίχειν, κ.τ.λ., 'was evidently tossed this way and that with a total inability either to retain the empire or to give it up.'

10. ταγμάτων ἐπιστατῶν δυνατωτάτων. At this time the two German provinces were certainly the premier military commands. In each province four legions, with a corresponding number of auxiliary troops, were posted. In Upper Germany Verginius at this time had the IV. Macedonica (a legion transferred from Spain by Claudius), the XXII. Primigenia, the I. Italica (a legion newly enrolled by Nero), and the XVI. Gallica. See *Eng. Hist. Review*, No. 8, p. 636.

10–11. πολλάκις αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀναγορευόντων. Tacitus says (*Hist.* i. 8), "Germanici exercitus ... tarde a Nerone desciverant: nec statim pro Galba Verginius: an imperare noluisset dubium: delatum ei a milite imperium conveniebat." Conf. also *Hist.* i. 58, where Valens says to Vitellius, "merito dubitasse Verginium equestri familia, ignoto patre, imparem si recepisset imperium, tutum si recusasset." We also learn from Tacitus that the Illyrian legions had also entered into communication with Verginius (*Hist.* i. 9). Conf. Dio Cass. 63. 25, "*τὴν δὲ αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν, καίτοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν πολλάκις αὐτῷ ἐγκειμένων, οὐκ ἠθέλησε δέξασθαι, δυνηθεὶς ἂν ῥᾳδίως ἐπιτυχεῖν αὐτῆς.*"

13–14. δν ἂν μὴ ἡ σύγκλητος ἕληται. Conf. Dio Cass. *ad loc. cit.*, "*ἔπεισεν ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ποιήσασθαι ... τῇ τε γὰρ γερουσίᾳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ προσήκειν τοῦτ' ἔλεγε.*" His legions, in spite of their anger at the time of his refusal, seem to have learnt the lesson, for a little later of their own accord they took the course which Verginius pointed out as the right one. Tac. *Hist.* i. 12, "literae adferuntur, superioris Germaniae legiones rupta sacramenti reverentia imperatorem alium flagitare et senatui ac populo Romano arbitrium eligendi permittere."

15–16. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ Οὐεργινίου καὶ Οὐίνδικος στρατεύματα, κ.τ.λ. 'But when the armies of Verginius and Vindex had in a sort carried away their generals against their will and dashed them against each other in a great battle, like charioteers that are unable to control the reins,' etc. In the account of the relation between Vindex and Verginius Rufus we have to choose between the version of Dio Cassius and that of Tacitus and Plutarch. The account of Dio is as follows (63. 24):—"'Ροῦφος δὲ ἄρχων τῆς Γερμανίας, *ὥρμησε μὲν ὡς καὶ τῷ Βίνδικι πολεμήσων· γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Βεσοντίωνι ταύτην ἐπολιόρκει, πρόφασιν ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐδέξατο αὐτὸν· τοῦ δὲ Βίνδικος πρὸς*

βοήθειαν τῇ πόλει ἀντεπώστοι αὐτῷ καὶ οὐ πόρρω στρατοπεδεύσαντοι ἀντεπέστειλαν μὲν ἀλλήλοις τινὰ, καὶ τέλος καὶ ἐς λόγους ἦλθον μέσους ... καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος, ὡς εἰκάζετο, συνέθεντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Βίνδιξ ὥρμησε μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, ὡς τὴν πόλιν καταλημψόμενος· καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ τοῦ Ῥούφου στρατιῶται προσιόντας αἰσθόμενοι, καὶ νομίσαντες ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀντικρυς χωρεῖν, ἀντεξώρμησαν αὐτοκέλευστοι, καὶ προσπεσόντες σφίσιν ἀπροσδοκήτοις καὶ ἀνυπτάστοις οὔσι ταμπόλλους κατέκοψαν· ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ περιαλγήσας ὁ Βίνδιξ, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔσφαξε· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς οὕτως ἔχει· πολλοὶ δὲ δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ κατατρώσαντες δόξαν τισὶ μάτην, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπεστυφότες αὐτὸν, παρέσχον· Ῥούφου δὲ τοῦτον μὲν ἰσχυρῶς ἐνίνθησε," *i.e.*, although Verginius was at first marching against Vindex, they came to a common understanding against Nero, and the battle was the result of an unfortunate misunderstanding between the two armies, Vindex committing suicide in despair, much to the grief of Verginius. Now in the first place, if this account is correct, the view of Vindex as a national champion, which we have seen reason to adopt above, p. lxiii. foll., must fall to the ground. Verginius might conspire against Nero; he would certainly never have favoured the Gallic empire. But is this version correct? Tacitus knows nothing of it. His reference to the occurrence is brief but plain, "caeso cum omnibus copiis Iulio Vindice, ferox praeda gloriaque exercitus, ut cui sine labore ac periculo ditissimi belli victoria evenisset," etc. (*Hist.* i. 51); and again, "sic olim Sacrovirum et Aeduos, nuper Vindicem Galliasque singulis proeliis concidisse" (*Hist.* iv. 57). Clearly Tacitus understood that the two armies had fought a battle and that Vindex had been killed in it; he knows nothing of a misunderstanding, and nothing of the suicide. And yet Tacitus must have been well acquainted with the events, for he was a friend of Verginius Rufus and pronounced his funeral 'laudatio.' See above. Again, the epitaph which Pliny in two passages (*Ep.* vi. 10 and ix. 19) ascribes to Verginius himself, "Hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice, quondam Imperium asseruit non sibi sed patriae," is entirely inconsistent with the idea that the battle with Vindex was the result of accident. Nor is there anything in Plutarch's account of the battle inconsistent with the view of Tacitus. The very fact, if it was so, that the two armies were so eager for battle that they hurried their generals into it, is a proof that there was a much greater bitterness of feeling between them than can be accounted for by a mere partisanship of Nero or Galba, a bitterness much more consistent with the national excitement of Gallic empire against Roman. Plutarch again clearly speaks of Verginius as if his chief claim to reputation depended on his

defeat of Vindex, which would be quite inconsistent with Dio's account; see esp. cap. 10, "*οὐδενὸς γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα μεῖζον οὐδὲ εἶχε δόξαν οὐδεὶς ὅσην ὁ Οὐεργίνιος, ὡς μεγίστη ῥοπὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πράγμασι τυράννιδος ὁμοῦ χαλεπῆς καὶ Γαλατικῶν πολέμων ἀπαλλαγῇ γενόμενος.*" It perhaps deserves notice, though of course it is not in itself conclusive, that the Scriptores Historiae Augustae, when they mention Vindex, always class him as one of the list of pretenders to the empire, such as were Carausius, Postumus, Tetricus, etc., at a later time. The phrase used by Pliny the Elder of Vindex, "adsertor ille a Nerone libertatis," by no means necessarily, as Mommsen argues, supports the account of Dio Cassius, for we find the Boian Maricous, who was a fanatical pretender in Gaul, called by Tacitus "adsertor Galliarum." The true account of the matter, therefore, is probably that given in the Introduction, p. lxiii.

19. Οὐίνδικος ἑαυτὸν ἀνελόντος. Whether Vindex did or did not commit suicide is of secondary importance. Tacitus, as we have seen, does not know of it, but it would be a not unnatural consequence of the defeat of his designs. That there was another version of his death Dio Cassius himself tells us (*ad loc. cit.*), "*πολλοὶ ... τὸ σῶμα κατατρώσαντες δόξαν τισὶ μάτην, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπεκτονότες αὐτὸν παρέσχον.*"

19-20. ἐπὶ δισμυρίοις Γαλατῶν πεσοῦσι. On the number of the Gallic forces see above. Tacitus says, "caeso Vindice cum omnibus copiis." Dio Cassius simply says, "*παμπόλλους κατέκοψαν.*"

20. διῆλθε λόγος, ὡς βουλομένων. See Madvig, *Gr. Syn.* § 181, R. 2.

22. ἢ πάλιν μεταβαλουμένων πρὸς Νέρωνα. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 8, "Tarde a Nerone desciverant, nec statim pro Galba Verginius."

23. περίφοβος γενόμενος ὁ Γάλβας. Conf. Suet. *Galb.* 11, "Accessit ad tanta discrimina mora Vindicis, qua maxime consternatus, destitutoque similis, non multum afuit quin vitae renuntiaret."

24-26. παρακαλῶν κοινοπραγεῖν καὶ διαφυλάσσειν ἅμα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν Ῥωμαίοις. Verginius Rufus was a stanch upholder of the senatorial privileges in the matter of appointing an emperor, and it seems probable that he did not declare for Galba until the senate had done so after pronouncing Nero a public enemy. Conf. Plut. *Galb.* 10, "*ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος τότε τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐμμένων λογισμοῖς ἐφύλαττε τῇ συγκλήτῳ τὴν αἵρεσιν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος.*" Dio Cassius (63. 27), however, says that Verginius deserted Nero in the latter's life time,

and, if this is so, he may have come to some understanding with Galba to maintain the freedom of the Roman people (διαφυλάσσειν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν) as against Nero, leaving, however, the choice of an emperor to the senate.

26–27. ἐς Κλουνίαν, Ἱβηρικὴν πόλιν. Clunia was the centre of one of the seven 'conventus' into which Hispania Tarraconensis was divided. There is a coin of Galba with the legend 'Hispania Clunia Sul(picia),' Cohen 86. The fragment of an inscription with Galba's name was found at Clunia (C. I. L. ii. 2339).

28–29. τὴν συνήθη καὶ σύντροφον ἀπραγμοσύνην. According to Suetonius, Galba in Spain was at first "acer et vehemens et in coercendis quidem delictis vel immodicus," but "paulatim in desidiam segnitiemque conversus est ne quid materiae praeberet Neroni et, ut dicere solebat, quod nemo rationem otii sui reddere cogeretur." That the ἀπραγμοσύνη, however, was not all assumed, his conduct when emperor sufficiently proves.

CHAPTER VII.

1. Ἦν δὲ θέρος ἤδη. Nero was killed on June 9.

2. Ἴκελος ἀνὴρ ἀπελεύθερος. Icelus was probably a Greek by birth. He was at Rome when the news of Galba's revolt arrived, and was thrown into prison; but was released on Nero's death, and allowed Nero's body to be cremated. Suet. *Ner.* 49, "Permisit hoc Icelus, Galbae libertus, non multo ante vinculis exsolutus in quae primo tumultu conjectus fuerat." He then brought the news of Nero's death to Galba, and was rewarded with the equestrian ring and the name of Marcianus (see below, and Suet. *Galb.* 14, and Tac. *Hist.* i. 13). Subsequently he was one of Galba's three advisers, and, according to Suetonius, he aimed at being a colleague of Laco in the command of the praetorian cohorts ("summae equestris gradus candidatus"); Plut. *Galb.* 20. His rapacity was immense, "Iam plus rapuit Icelus, quam quod Polycliti et Vatinii et Tigellini cupierunt" (Tac. *Hist.* i. 37; conf. also ii. 95). He was opposed to the adoption of Otho, by whom he was ultimately executed, "in Marcianum Icelum ut in libertum palam animadversum." The journey to Spain is mentioned by Suet. *Galb.* 22.

ἑβδομαῖος. From Rome to Clunia in seven days was one of the speediest journeys recorded. The route would be from

...ditus meritoria rhed...
dies." Icelus, however,
service with its relays of
much more quickly. Wo
this way from Aquileia to
Hist. Aug. Maxim. c. 25;
ii., pp. 17-18.

5. τῶν βαλαμηπόλων. Th
Suet. *Ner.* 38 and *Dom.* 17,
head chamberlain of the imp
not a slave, but a freedman.
sense conf. Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 30.

6–7. οὐκ ὄντος δὲ φανεροῦ.
tendants only to the suburban
situated between the Viae Salari
48). It was while he was hiding
rived in which he read "Se ho
quaeri ut puniatur more maiorum

7. τὸ στράτευμα πρῶτον: that is
suaded by Nymphidius Sabinus an
deserted them. See cap. 2, supr
"Miles urbanus longo Caesarum s
destituendum Neronem arte magis
genio traductus." So (Tac. *Hist.*
praetorians, "et Nero quoque v
Neronem."

7–8. εἶτα ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος.
senate see the passage of Suetonius
gard to the δῆμος, Dio
Ῥωμαίων ἐβουλή

torum et exulum in spem erecti: plebs sordida et circo ac theatris sueta, simul deterrimi servorum, aut qui, adesis bonis, per dedecus Neronis alebantur, maesti et rumorum avidi."

11–12. πάμπαν δυσπάμπαν. Suetonius adds (see above) that he also permitted its cremation.

15. τὸ τάχος, the speed of the journey.

16. Οὐίνιος Τίτος, κ.τ.λ. The reading is here defective. Titus Vinius had apparently remained behind at Nova Carthago where the deliberation mentioned in cap. 4 took place (see Suet. *Galb.* 9) and now arrived with full details of what had taken place at Rome.

[πολλὰ ... τῶν]. The passage is corrupt. The MSS. and earliest editions have πολλ followed by a lacuna and then τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου. It seems better to omit the words.

17–18. τὰ δόξαντα τῇ συγκλήτῳ καθ' ἕκαστον, i.e. the senatus consultum ultimum against Nero, the salutation of Galba, as imperator, and the conferment probably of the titles Caesar, Augustus, and pater patriae.

19. εἰς τάξιν ἔντιμον προήχθη. This may possibly refer to a promise of the consulship for the beginning of the next year (see Tac. *Hist.* i. 1), but it probably is to be understood only of the predominant influence which, from this time, Vinius exercised over Galba. "Invalidum senem Titus Vinius et Cornelius Laco, alter deterrimus mortalium, alter ignavissimus odio flagitiorum oneratum contemptu inertiae destruebant," Tac. *Hist.* i. 6; conf. also i. 13, "Potentia principatus divisa in Titum Vinium consulem, Cornelium Laconem praetorii praefectum, etc."

19–20. τῷ δ' ἀπελευθέρῳ δακτυλίους τε χρυσοῦς, κ.τ.λ. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 13, "nec minor gratia Icelo Galbae liberto, quem anulis donatum equestri nomine Marcianum vocitabant"; also Suet. *Galb.* 14, "libertus Icelus paulo ante anulis aureis et Marciani cognomine ornatus." Strictly the 'anulus aureus' was only allowed to those who had the census equester and were ingenui, but there were a few cases in the first century in which the honour was granted to the imperial freedmen, *e.g.*, to Pallas under Nero (Plin. *Ep.* viii. 6. 4), to Icelus under Galba, to Asiaticus under Vitellius (Suet. *Vitell.* 12), to Hormus and Claudius Etruscus under Vespasian (Tac. *Hist.* iv. 39).

20–21. Μαρκιανὸς ἤδη καλούμενος, i.e. his full name would be Servius Sulpicius Marcianus, as he would take the gentile name and praenomen of his patron.

1. Ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ Νυμφίδιος Σαβῖνος, κ.τ.λ. To alone we owe our knowledge of the details of the att by Nymphidius to secure the empire for himself alludes to it very briefly (it of course took place bef 69, from which the *Histories* start) in *Hist.* i. urbanus . . . pronus ad novas res scelere insuper Sabini praefecti imperium sibi molientis"; conf. a while Suetonius and Dio Cassius merely mention hi

3. φέρων, with violence. See Madvig, *Gr. S* "Certain participles are attached to the subject terise the action in respect of its circumstances almost with an adverbial signification," *e.g.* λαβ ἰών, ταρών, and φέρων. Conf. Plato, *Repub.* 345 B, ποιήσω; ἢ εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν φέρων ἐνθῶ τὸν λόγον;"

3–4. ὡς Γάλβαν μὲν ὄντα, κ.τ.λ. For this perso the accus. abs. see Madvig, *Gr. Syn.* § 181.

4. καὶ μόλις εἰς Ῥώμην, κ.τ.λ., 'and would hardly strength to travel to Rome with haste owing to hi As a matter of fact Galba's journey was a slow one Galbae iter," Tac. *Hist.* i. 6). Starting in June he reached Rome not before September. See Hereu *Hist.*, *ad loc. cit.*

5–6. ἦν γὰρ ἑπτὰν τριῶν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. See no 3. 1.

6. τὰ δὲ αὐτόθι στρατεύματα, the cohortes praeto

7. πέλας πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰνάετες ἔχοντα. Nymphidius had been praefect since 65 A.D.

7-8. ἐνὶ ἐξηρτημένα μόνῳ, dependent on him alone. Conf. Plut. *Vit. Brut.* 2, "καὶ τὴν νέαν καὶ μέρει λεγομένην Ἀκαδήμειαν οὐ πάνυ προσιέμενος ἐξήρτητο τῆς παλαιᾶς." See infra *Oth.* 3. 38, "πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνηρτημένοις." There was always this risk of the praetorian troops becoming dangerously attached to their praefect, and it was for this reason that this praefectura alone was made usually a collegiate office. As Mommsen points out, where the rule was departed from, a revolution was commonly the result.

8. διὰ τὸ τῆς δωρεᾶς μέγεθος. See on cap. ii.

9. Γάλβαν δὲ χρεωφειλέτην. Nymphidius promised the donation in Galba's name, and it is possible, as Schiller suggests, that he may have purposely put it at an impossible sum in order to bring out subsequent discontent against Galba.

10. Τιγελλίνῳ τῷ συνάρχοντι. See on cap. ii. 1. Sophonius Tigellinus was an Agrigentine by descent. Accused of adultery with the sisters of the emperor Caligula, he was banished to Scyllaceum. Recalled by Claudius, he was suspected of a similar intrigue and again removed from Rome, he carried on a fishing trade in Achaia. Then, being named heir to an inheritance, he was permitted to return to Rome on condition of keeping aloof from the court; and he next bought land in Apulia and Calabria for the purpose of breeding horses for the Roman circus It was this probably which first brought him under the notice of Nero, whose favour he won by pandering to all his vices, 'intimis libidinibus adsumptus' (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 51). Of his earlier posts we know nothing, but he reached the post of praefectus vigilum and was then promoted on the death of Burrus to be praefectus praetorio (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 51). From that time he was the instigator of all Nero's worst crimes, and in particular it was owing to Tigellinus and Poppaea that the conspiracy of Piso gave the pretext to so many executions (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 61). When Nero's star waned he seems to have deserted him, but he had already ceased to be the leading spirit, and we find him now deposed by his younger colleague Nymphidius Sabinus. For his later history see below on cap. 17. Tacitus briefly characterizes his rise and fall (*Hist.* i. 72), "Sophonius Tigellinus obscuris parentibus, foeda pueritia, impudica senecta, praefecturam vigilum et praetorii et alia praemia virtutum, quis velocius erat, vitiis adeptus, crudelitatem mox, deinde avaritiam, virilia scelera, exercuit, corrupto ad omne facinus Nerone, quaedam ignaro ausus ac postremo eiusdem desertor ac proditor." See below, cap. 17.

11. ἀποδύσθαι τὸ ξίφος. The office of the praefectus praetorii was originally and primarily a military one. So far as the praetorian troops were concerned, the emperor's imperium, unlike that of republican days, existed within as well as without the pomerium. As a sign of this military jurisdiction the praefectus praetorio was formally girded on his appointment with the sword of office. Conf. Dio Cass. 68. 16 (Trajan. "ἀλλ' ὅτε πρῶτον τῷ μέλλοντι τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπάρξειν, ὡς δ παραζώννυσθαι αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν, ὤρεξεν, ἐγύμνωσέ τε αὐτό, καὶ εἰπὼν ἔφη λάβε τοῦτο τὸ ξίφος, ἵνα, ἂν μὲν καλῶς ἄρχω, σοῦ, ἂν δὲ κακῶς, κατ' ἐμοῦ αὐτῷ χρήσῃ."

τοὺς ὑπατικοὺς = consulares.

γεμονικοὺς = primores e senatu.

ἓν τε τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. The praetorian camp was first built by Seianus, Tac. *Ann.* iv. 2, "Vim praefecturae antea intendit, dispersas per urbem cohortes una in castra inducendo," and Suet. *Tib.* 37. The camp was just outside the Porta Viminalis.

ἔπαρχον εἶσαεὶ ... ἄνευ συνάρχοντος. See note on 10. If Nymphidius had gained his wish he would have had the position of Seianus. εἶσαεὶ = 'in perpetuum.' The appointment was always during the emperor's pleasure, a well-known imperial maxim to retain the praefect practically powerless. Dio Cassius makes Maecenas (52. 24), after saying that there should always be two praefecti ("τὸ τε ἀρχικὸν αὐτὸ τὴν ἐπιτρέπεσθαι σφαλερὸν, καὶ τὸ πλείοσι παραδιδόναι "καὶ οὗτοι μὲν διὰ βίου ... τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐχέτωσαν." Though the advice of this advice was generally acted upon, though in case of treason, a praefectus could be deposed, as under Tiberius, and Faenius Rufus under Nero. Claudius had an exceptional procedure on the part of Narcissus, "mutabantur praefecti per horas et dies," Apart from cases of treason, the usual way of getting rid of a praefect was to promote him to senatorial rank (*modus* (*vit.* 4) "Paternum ... per lati clavi honorem curae administratione summovit."

εὐεργέτην. The nearest parallel to the honour shown by the senate to Nymphidius is the 'statua' which Pliny mentions (*Ep.* viii. 6), in 'statua praetoria' were decreed to the freedman quod Pallanti servo praetoria ornamenta decreta sint, offeruntur a servis ; mitto quod censent non solo verum etiam compellendum ad usum publicum. Levia haec et transeunda ; illa memorabo, Pallantis senatus ... gratias agit Caesari

quod et ipse cum summo honore mentionem eius prosecutus esset, et senatui facultatem fecisset testandi erga eum benevolentiam."

18–19. συντρέχουσι καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ θύρας, *i.e.* attending his morning salutatio, like clients.

19–20. πάντα δὲ ἤρχεν δόγματος ἀξιοῦντα καὶ βεβαιοῦν, 'requesting him to initiate and confirm every decree.' If Plutarch is correct in this statement and is not led astray by his ignorance of Roman constitutional forms, the position of Nymphidius was an entirely unprecedented one, and he was in fact treated by the senate as virtually emperor. The praetorian praefects belonged, with very few exceptions, to the equestrian order, and therefore could not sit on the senate as members of that body, far less could they initiate measures, a right which was coextensive with that of convoking the senate, and this only belonged to the emperor, to the consuls, the praetor and occasionally to the praefectus urbi. It was not an unprecedented thing for the praefectus praetorio to be honoured with the senatorial insignia or ornamenta, *e.g.* Seianus received the praetoria ornamenta, Dio Cass. 57. 19, "τοῦτον (Seianus) ὁ Τιβέριος στρατηγικαῖς τιμαῖς ἐκόσμησεν," and also his successor Macro (Dio Cass. 58. 12); but these ornamenta did not confer the right of appearing in the senate. After the time of Alexander Severus, senatorial rank was always conferred on the praefecti praetorio (*Vit. Alex.* 21), but previous to that time they never appeared in the senate without some special reason. Thus Seianus was in the senate when the 'verbosa et grandis epistula' arrived from Tiberius, but Dio's account (58. 9) shows that he only went there because he was led to believe that the tribunicia potestas was to be conferred on him at that meeting. Again, Tiberius requested later on, "ut Macro praefectus tribunorumque et centurionum pauci secum introirent, quotiens curiam ingrederetur, petivit" (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 15). As praefectus praetorio therefore Nymphidius had no 'locus standi' in the senate at all. But the right had been expressly given to the emperors "χρηματίζειν περὶ ἑνὸς τινος, καθ' ἑκάστην βουλήν" (Dio Cass. 53. 32), *i.e.* they had the first 'ius referendi' at each meeting, and where the emperor took advantage of this privilege and proposed the sententia, the words 'ex auctoritate imperatoris' were added to the senatus consultum, as various inscriptions show. It was this right then, if Plutarch is to be trusted, which the senate unconstitutionally conferred upon Nymphidius. It insisted that he should personally propose the various sententiae which, when passed, became senatus consulta.

really took place with regard to Nymphidius was t
was requested to suggest to the consuls what measu
should propose in the senate (*παντὸς ἐξάρχειν δόγματος*),
senatus consultum was laid before him for his app
(*βεβαιοῦν*). But even this was an unprecedented pos
a praetorian praefect to hold and we may well believ
ἔτι περαιτέρω τόλμης ἀνῆγεν αὐτὸν.

21. τοῖς θεραπεύουσι, his servile flatterers.

22. τῶν δὲ ὑπάτων, κ.τ.λ. 'But when the consuls
public slaves as carriers of the decrees to the emperor
livered to them the so-called diplomata ready seale
the magistrates of the various towns recognise, and b
of relays of vehicles expedite the conveyance of the c

23. οἰκέτας δημοσίους, public slaves. We find th
lici servi employed as executioners (Cic. *Phil.* vii
attendants in the tabularium (Liv. xliii. 15), as ten
vants (Tac. *Hist.* i. 43), as public auctioneers (Plin.
18), and in work connected with the aqueducts (*Fr
Aquaeduc.* 100).

24. τῷ αὐτοκράτορι, *i.e.* to Galba.

24–25. τὰ καλούμενα διπλώματα. This refers
postal-service (cursus publicus) established by Augus
the main roads were lined with stations, where
relays of horses and carriages were kept. Suet. *
"quo celerius ac sub manum adnuntiari cognosciqu
quod in provincia quaque gereretur, iuvenes primo
intervallis per militares vias, dehinc vehicula disposui
modius id visum est, ut qui a loco perferrent litera
rogari quoque, si quid res exigeret, possent." Restin

sisted of folding tablets, and had inscribed the name of the reigning emperor (conf. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 6, "tanquam audito Vitellii et Othonis principatu propriam ipse potentiam et possessionem Hispaniarum temptaasset, eoque diplomatibus nullum principem praescripsisset"), the name of the person authorised to use the post, and the period for which it was available. On the emperor's death his diplomata became useless (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 54, "causa fingendi fuit, ut diplomata Othonis, quae negiegebantur, laetiore nuntio, revalescerent.") We find Pliny when legate of Bithynia forwarding a messenger from Bosporus to Rome by means of a diploma (*Ep. ad Trai.* 64, "Qua ex causa festinationem tabellarii quem ad te cum epistulis misi diplomate adiuvi,") and in an exceptional case his own wife (*Ep. ad Trai.* 120).

26. *συνησφράνε*, *i.e.* sealed with the signet of the consuls instead of his. To sign the diplomata was to exercise for the time the functions of the emperor. The device on the seal was called 'aposphragisma.' Conf. Plin. *ad Trai.* 74, "Signata est anulo meo, cuius est aposphragisma quadriga."

ἃ γνωρίζοντες, 'on recognising or verifying which.' The diplomata had to be *visées* at each statio before the relays could be obtained.

25–26. οἱ κατὰ πόλιν ἄρχοντες, 'the magistrates of the various cities they passed.' Originally the expenses of the postal-service were levied on the various localities through which the despatches passed, and must have been a considerable burden. Nerva remitted them in the case of Italy, and transferred them to the fiscus. Conf. the legend on coins 'vehiculatione Italiae remissa.' Hadrian extended the remission to the provinces. Spart. *vit. Hadr.* 7, "statim cursum fiscalem instituit ne magistratus hoc onere gravarentur."

26. τῶν ὀχημάτων: the technical term for the carriages employed was 'vehicula'; see Suet. *ad loc. cit.*

27. τῶν γραμματηφόρων. The couriers were called 'veredarii,' from veredi, the horses used (conf. Mart. xii. 14, "Parcius utaris, moneo, rapiente veredo"), or 'speculatores,' conf. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 73, "postquam speculatores e Syria Iudaeaque adactum in verba eius Orientem nuntiavere."

28–29. ὅτι μὴ παρ' αὐτοῦ ... στρατιώτας λαβόντες. There was a special corps of speculatores attached to the praetorian cohorts, and Nymphidius was angry that no application was made to him for some of these by the consuls.

30. βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῶν ὑπάτων, 'to have meditated some action against the consuls.'

31. ἀπολογησαμένοις καὶ δεηθεῖσιν, 'on their apology and humble entreaty.'

32. τῷ δήμῳ χαριζόμενος. On the disposition of the people to the new régime see above on cap 7. Those who would be pleased with these acts of revenge would be those whom Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 4) describes as "pars populi integra et magnis domibus adnexa, clientes libertique damnatorum et exulum in spem erecti."

32-33. τὸν παραπίπτοντα τῶν Νέρωνος, 'any of Nero's favourites who appeared.'

33. ἀποτυμπανίζειν='fusti necare.' The 'fustuarium' was properly a military punishment for desertion or other capital offences (see Liv. v. 6, 14). Polybius (6. 37) describes it, "Τὸ δὲ τῆς ξυλοκοπίας ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον. Λαβὼν ξύλον ὁ χιλίαρχος, τούτῳ τοῦ καταχρᾶσθαι ὅλον ἥψατο μόνον. Οἱ γενομένου πάντες οἱ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τύπτοντες τοῖς ξύλοις καὶ τοῖς λίθοις, τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ στρατοπεδείᾳ καταβάλλουσι· τοῖς δὲ ἐκπεσοῦσιν οὐδ' ὡς ὑπάρχει σωτηρία. Πῶς γὰρ; οἷς οὔτ' εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπανελθεῖν ἔξεστιν, οὔτε τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐδεὶς ἐν οἰκίᾳ τολμήσειε δέξασθαι τὸν τοιοῦτον." It seems, however, also to have been an old and obsolete punishment for political traitors. See Suet. *Ner.* 49. Nero on learning "se hostem a senatu iudicatum, et quaeri ut puniatur more maiorum, interrogavit, quale esset id genus poenae. Et quum comperisset, nudi hominis cervicem inseri furcae, corpus virgis ad necem caedi," etc.

34. τὸν μονομάχον, the gladiator, one of Nero's favourites. Conf. Suet. *Ner.* 30, "Spiculum mirmillonem triumphalium virorum patrimoniis aedibusque donavit."

ἀνδριάσι Νέρωνος ἑλκομένοις. When a Roman citizen, whether private individual or emperor, was declared a public enemy or guilty of 'perduellio,' the results of this condemnation continued even after his death. This was called 'damnatio memoriae,' and in the case of an emperor it involved the rescission of his acts, the destruction of all his statues, the erasure of his name from public documents, and its omission from the list of those emperors to whose 'acta' magistrates on their entry to office had to swear. Up to this date the 'damnatio memoriae' had only taken place in the case of two emperors, Caligula and Nero, whose names accordingly are omitted in the 'lex de imperio Vespasiani,' which affirms that Vespasian should have certain rights "uti licuit divo Augusto, Tiberio Iulio Caesari Augusto, Tiberioque Claudio Caesari Augusto Germanico." Examples of statues being broken up in these cases are (1) that of Seianus under Tiberius:

Dio Cass. 58. 11, "*τὰς τε εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ πάσας κατέβαλον, καὶ κατέκοπτον καὶ κατέσυρον*"; Juv. x. 58, "Descendunt statuae restemque sequuntur. Ipsas deinde rotas bigarum impacta securis Caedit et inmeritis franguntur crura caballis. Iam stridunt ignes, iam follibus atque caminis Ardet adoratum populo caput et crepat ingens Seianus; deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda Fiunt urceoli pelves sartago matellae." (2) That of Caligula: Dio Cass. 60. 4, "*Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς γερουσίας ἀτιμώσασα τὸν Γάϊον ἐθελοντὴν ψηφισθῆναι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκώλυσεν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ πολλὰς ἑστώσας ἠφάνισε καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν ὄνομα αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ κατηλογῷ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, ὧν μνήμην ἐπί τε τοῖς ὅρκοις καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς ποιούμεθα.*" (3) For the case of Nero see Dio Cass. 63. 25, "*καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται τὰς μὲν τοῦ Νέρωνος εἰκόνας καθεῖλον καὶ συνέτριψαν*"; conf also Plut. *Oth.* 3, "*καὶ τινων εἰκόνας Νέρωνος εἰς τοὐμφανὲς προθεμένων οὐκ ἐκώλυσε.*" (4) That of Domitian: Suet. *Dom.* 23, "Contra senatus adeo laetatus est, ut repleta certatim curia non temperaret, quin mortuum contumeliosissimo atque acerbissimo acclamationum genere laceraret, scalas etiam inferri, clipeosque et imagines eius coram detrahi et ibidem solo affligi iuberet; novissime eradendos ubique tituloe, abolendamque omnem memoriam decerneret."

36. *τῶν κατηγορικῶν*, 'the delatores,' whom Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 30, describes as "genus hominum publico exitio repertum et ne poenis quidem unquam satis coercitum." Conf. also Tac. *Ann.* i. 73, ii. 27, iii. 25. Put down by the good emperors, they were always encouraged by the bad, *e.g.* Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, Domitian. Nero had commenced well in this respect: Suet. *Ner.* 10, "Praemia delatorum Papiae legis ad quartas redegit"; but at the end of his reign this class of men ran riot.

ἁμάξας λιθοφόρους. Conf. Juv. iii. 257, "Nam si procubuit qui saxa Ligustica portat Axis et eversum fudit super agmina montem, Quid superest de corporibus?"

38. *Μαύρικον.* Iunius Mauricus was a brother of Arulenus Rusticus, the Stoic philosopher. He was no friend to the delatores, as appears from Tac. *Hist.* iv. 40, "Signo ultionis in accusatores dato, petit a Caesare Iunius Mauricus, ut commentariorum principalium potestatem senatui faceret, per quos nosceret, quem quisque accusandum poposcisset." He was afterwards a friend of Pliny the Younger, was exiled by Domitian in 93 A.D. (Plin. *Ep.* iii. 11. 3), and recalled under Nerva in 96 A.D. (Plin. *Ep.* i. 5. 10). Pliny (*Ep.* iv. 22) tells the story of a dinner with Nerva, at which the guests discussed what would have been the fate of Catullus Messalinus, the famous informer under Domitian, if he had been alive. Mauricus observed, "Nobiscum cenaret."

46. ὅτι φοβεῖται, μὴ ταχὺ Νέρωνα ζητήσωσιν. A similar violent reaction against the informers and supposed favourites of the late reign took place when Nerva was made emperor, when Fronto is said to have made a somewhat similar remark to that of Mauricus: Dio Cass. 68. 1, "πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν συκοφαντησάντων θάνατον κατεδικάσθησαν· ἐν οἷς καὶ Σέραις ἦν ὁ φιλόσοφος. ταραχῆς οὖν γενομένης οὐ τῆς τυχούσης ἐκ τοῦ πάντας πάντων κατηγορεῖν, λέγεται Φρόντωνα τὸν ὕπατον εἰπεῖν ὡς κακὸν μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτοκράτορα ἔχειν, ἐφ' οὗ μηδενὶ μηδὲν ἔξεστι ποιεῖν, χεῖρον δέ, ἐφ' οὗ πᾶσι πάντα."

CHAPTER IX.

2. οὐκ ἔφευγε Γαΐου Καίσαρος υἱὸς λέγεσθαι. Conf. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 72, "Igitur matre libertina ortus ... ex Gaio Caesare se genitum ferebat."

5. οὐκ ἀειδῆ τὴν ὄψιν οὖσαν. Tac. *ad loc. cit.*, "Quae corpus decorum inter servos libertosque principum vulgaverat."

5–6. ἐκ δ' ἀκεστρίας ἐπιμισθίου Καλλίστῳ ... γεγενημένην, 'born to Callistus, the freedman of Caesar, from a sempstress who worked for hire.'

ἀκεστρίας ἐπιμισθίου. Conf. Juv. 8, 43, "Quae ventoso conducta sub aggere texit."

Καλλίστῳ. Conf. Joseph. *Ant. Iud.* xix. 1. 10, "ἔτι δὲ καὶ Κάλλιστος (ἀπελεύθερος δὲ ἦν Γαΐου) πλεῖστα τε ἀνὴρ εἰς οὗτος ἐπὶ μέγιστον δυνάμεως ἀφίκετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἰσοτύραννον εἶχε τὴν δύναμιν, φόβῳ τε τῶν πάντων καὶ μεγέθει χρημάτων. He was originally the slave of a private master who sold him to the emperor Caligula, under whom he amassed immense wealth and influence. Being concerned in the murder of Caligula (Dio Cass. 59. 29), he retained his influence under Claudius, by whom he was promoted to the post of 'a libellis, "ἐπὶ τοῖς βίβλοις τῶν ἀξιώσεων ἐτέτακτο" (Zonaras, 563 D). He is mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* xi. 29) as one of the triumvirate of freedmen under Claudius, Pallas being 'a rationibus,' and Narcissus 'ab epistulis.' He appears, from what Plutarch says, to have been the grandfather of Nymphidius Sabinus.

8–9. αἰτίαν δ' ἔσχε ... γεγονέναι, 'he was taxed with having been born from.'

9–10. τῆς Νυμφιδίας ἐρασθείσης διὰ δόξαν αὐτοῦ, 'Nymphidia having fallen in love with him on account of his repu-

tation.' Juvenal shows in his sixth satire (78-113) that women of a much higher class than Nymphidia shared her admiration for gladiators.

11-12. ἔργον μὲν αὐτοῦ μόνου, κ.τ.λ., 'he considered Nero's deposition to be the result of his own sole exertions.' Conf. cap. 2 for the means by which Nymphidius induced the praetorian cohorts to declare against Nero.

12-14. δῆλα δὲ αὐτῷ οὐ νομίζων ἴσασι, κ.τ.λ. 'But not considering that he was reaping adequate rewards from it in the honours paid him and the wealth he gained and his marriage with Nero's favourite, Sporus —.' On the marriage of Nero with Sporus see Dio Cass. 63. 13, and Suet. *Ner.* 28.

16-17. καταμένου τοῦ νικητοῦ. Conf. Suet. *Ner.* 49. Sporus was one of the four attendants who remained faithful to Nero to the last.

17-18. ἐν χαμευτῇ τάξει. Conf. such expressions as ἐν ἐχθροῦ τάξει = 'in the light of an enemy'; ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει = 'by way of an insult'; also ἐν παιδὸς μέρει, Plato, *Repub.* 424 D, and Stallbaum's note *ad loc.*

18. Ποππαίαν προσηγόρευεν, 'gave him the name of Poppaea.' Nero had called him Sabina, Poppaea's cognomen: Dio Cass. 63. 13, "ὠνόμασε δὲ Σαβῖναν τὸν Σπόρον." On Poppaea Sabina, Nero's wife, see below, cap. 19.

18-19. ἐπὶ τὴν διαδοχὴν παρεδύετο, κ.τ.λ., 'he tried to steal into the succession to the empire.' Conf. Plat. *Repub.* 424 B, and Demosth. *de Cor.* § 79.

20-21. γυναικῶν τινων. There are numerous instances of feminine intrigue in Roman politics, especially in connection with powerful empresses and their circle of friends and confidantes. Conf. the case of Plancina, wife of Piso the legate of Syria, and her influence with Livia (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 43, 45); the intrigue of Seianus with Livilla (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 3). The influence of women was perhaps especially great during the time of Poppaea's régime. So one of her friends, Cleopatra, was able to gain for her husband, Gessius Florus, the procuratorship of Judaea (Joseph. *Ant. Iud.* xx. 11. 1). See also the case of Galvia Crispinilla (Tac. *Hist.* i. 73).

21. συγκλητικῶν ἀνδρῶν, 'men of the senatorial order.' See above, cap. 8, "ἐδείπνιζε τοὺς ὑπατικοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμονικούς." One of these was Cingonius Varro, consul designatus: see cap. 14.

22-23. Γελλιανόν ... κατασκεψόμενον. On the news which Gellianus brought back see cap. 13. The MSS. and early editions have here ἔπεμψε with a considerable lacuna, and then

καὶ παρείκει κατασκέψομενον. Probably the lacuna was caused by a flaw in the parchment of the original MS. The καί may have been the first letters of κατασκεψόμενον, which the scribe began before noticing the flaw, and then rewrote beyond it. A later hand may then, in reference to the unnecessary καί, have inserted παρέλκει (it is redundant), and in this way the καὶ παρείκει found its way into later MSS. I owe the latter part of this suggestion to Sintenis. Coraes, however, proposes to read ᾗ παρείκοι, 'wherever the opportunity should occur,' and compares Plut. περὶ παιδαγωγ. § 10, "κατὰ τὸ παρεῖκον τῶν καιρῶν.

CHAPTER X.

2–3. ἀμφίβολος ὤν. Verginius never had the design of accepting the empire for himself, but in view of the strong feeling of his own legions he may have hesitated to accept the nominee of the Spanish legion, even when the praetorians and the senate had confirmed the election.

3–4. δυνάμεως πολλῆς καὶ μαχιμωτάτης. On the four legions under the command of Verginius, see note on cap. 6.

4–5. προσειληφὼς τὸ νενικηκέναι Οὐίνδικα, 'with the additional prestige of having conquered Vindex.' This expression is clearly against the version of Dio Cassius discussed above, that the battle and death of Vindex were accidental events.

5–6. μέγα μέρος τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας, κ.τ.λ., 'a considerable part of the Roman Empire, viz., the whole of Gaul, which had been involved in the ferment of an insurrection.' There could be no question as to the importance of the Gallic provinces to the empire since their first conquest by Iulius Caesar. In no part of the empire did Augustus spend more time and labour in organising and settling, and here more than elsewhere the Roman government was concerned to put down the national religion with its too violent national aspirations. Further, the conquest of Britain by Claudius, meditated years before by Augustus, was primarily intended to secure the Gallic provinces from incitements to revolt from across the Channel, and lastly, the main object of the eight German legions along the course of the Rhine was to defend these provinces against the attacks and migrations of the free German tribes beyond. On the wealth of these provinces see above on cap. 5.

6–7. Γαλατίαν ἅπασαν. As a matter of fact the rev
seems to have spread over the Sequani, the Aedui, a
Arverni (Tac. *Hist.* iv. 17), but there can be no doubt t
if Vindex had been successful against Verginius, the whol
Gaul would soon have been in movement. Plutarch's l
guage is decisive here for the view that it was a natio
rising of which Vindex was the head.

7–8. τοῖς παρακαλοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. These w
not only his own legions (see below), but also the legions
Pannonia and Dalmatia (Tac. *Hist.* i. 9).

8. Οὐδενὸς γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα μεῖζον. The two German p
vinces were at this period, and for some time to come,
premier military commands. The only governor who co
in any way be [illegible]ide by side with the German lega
was the legate [illegible]and at this time, no doubt, the t
foremost men [illegible]ginius Rufus and Vespasianus,
newly created [illegible] Judaea, who had several of
Syrian legions [illegible] his command. But at present none
his successes co[illegible]mpare in importance with the conqu
of Vindex. C[illegible] Galba whose reputation, though
great as that [illegible] somewhat cancelled by
age, and reme[illegible]bulo had already fallen
victim to the [illegible], we should probably fix
Suetonius Pau[illegible] prestige to those alrea
mentioned (Ta[illegible] But Paulinus had not b
altogether a su[illegible] Bri[illegible], and was at the time somewh
under a cloud. Nothing perhaps shows more clearly
prestige of Verginius than the repeated offer of the empire
the soldiers of Otho after that emperor's death (Tac. *H*
ii. 51).

10–11. τυραννίδος χαλεπῆς ... ἀπαλλαγῇ. It can hardly
said that Verginius had much to do with the deposition
Nero. That he did ultimately declare against him seems
be implied in the words of Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 8), "tard
Nerone desciverant (*i.e.* the German legions); nec statim
Galba Verginius"; but it was probably not till Nero's o
despair and the treachery of Nymphidius had already gi
the necessary *ῥοπὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πράγμασι* in this respect
least.

12. τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς λογισμοῖς. Conf. cap. 6, "*οὔτε αὐτὸς
λήψεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν οὔτε ἄλλῳ περιόψεσθαι διδομένην, ὃν
μὴ ἡ σύγκλητος ἕληται.*"

13. ἐφύλαττε τῇ συγκλήτῳ τὴν αἵρεσιν. This was no do
the more regular order, for the senate to elect and the ar
to confirm, and we even find Hadrian (Spart. *Hadr.*

apologising to the senate because in the hurry of events he had received the title of imperator from the army first. But the other course was not necessarily unconstitutional. Claudius (Suet. *Claud.* 10), Nero (Suet. *Ner.* 8) and Otho (Plut. *Galb.* 25) were all proclaimed first by the praetorian cohorts, and Vespasian dated his 'dies imperii' not from his recognition by the senate, but from his proclamation by the army. Suet. *Vesp.* 6, "Tiberius Alexander praefectus Aegypti primus in verba Vespasiani legiones recepit legit Kalendis Iuliis qui principatus dies in posterum observatus est." As time went on, election by the senate became more and more a mere formality, and the voice of the armies the really deciding moment.

15. τὸ πλῆθος = 'gregarius miles.'

16. χιλιάρχων τις τῶν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ 'one of the tribunes present in the tent.' The military tribunes at this period were mostly young men of good family, who intended to go through the senatorial 'cursus honorum.' They, together with the legates of the various legions and the 'centuriones primi pili,' were privileged to attend the general's council of war.

18. δέχεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἢ τὸν σίδηρον. Conf. the case of the German legions and Germanicus: Tac. *Ann.* i. 35, "Fuere etiam qui legatam a divo Augusto pecuniam reposcerent, faustis in Germanicum ominibus; et si vellet imperium, promptos ostentavere. Tum vero, quasi scelere contaminaretur, praeceps tribunali desiluit. Opposuerunt abeunti arma, minitantes, ni regrederetur."

19. Φάβιος Οὐάλης ἄρχων ἑνὸς τάγματος. Fabius Valens was the legatus of one of the legions, probably the I. Germanica (Tac. *Hist.* i. 57), which belonged to Lower Germany. He was at this particular time, however, serving in the army of Verginius, having been sent as the commander of a vexillatio (*i.e.* a detachment of troops employed away from its headquarters) against Vindex. Whilst in the camp of Verginius he seems to have been in secret correspondence with Galba, to whom he communicated the hesitation of Verginius: Tac. *Hist.* i. 52, "Fabius Valens infensus Galbae, tanquam detectam a se Verginii cunctationem ... ingrate tulisset."

19–20. ὥρκωσε πρῶτος εἰς Γάλβαν, 'he was the first to administer the oath to Galba.' Tacitus alludes to this anticipation of the upper army by the lower (*Hist.* i. 53), "Nec deerant in exercitu (superioris Germaniae) semina discordiae, quod et bello adversus Vindicem universus adfuerat, nec nisi occiso Nerone translatus in Galbam atque in eo ipso sacra-

mento vexillis inferioris Germaniae praeventus erat." Valens was also the first to salute Vitellius emperor: Tac. *Hist.* i. 57, "Proxima legionis primae hiberna erant et promptissimus e legatis Fabius Valens. is die proximo coloniam Agrippinensem cum equitibus legionis auxiliariorumque ingressus imperatorem Vitellium consalutavit": and iii. 62, "Fovit Verginium et infamavit ... Galbae proditor."

20–21. γράμματα δὲ Ῥάμης περὶ ἀμφ. ἔσπ. These letters would arrive about the middle of June.

21. χαλεπῶς μὲν καὶ μόλις, not, of course, from any lingering loyalty to Nero, but from the natural reluctance of the premier army to acknowledge the nominee of a smaller province.

22. ἔπεισε δ' οὖν, 'persuaded them with difficulty and labour, but still he did persuade them.'

23. πέμψαντες αὐτοῦ διέσχον. How long Verginius had been legate of Upper Germany we do not know. The appointment of the legati of the imperial provinces *ipso facto* lapsed on the death of the emperor who had appointed them his mandatories, unless they were specially reappointed by his successor. In most cases, no doubt, this was done, but in the case of Verginius Rufus and the disposition of his army a less cautious ruler than Galba might have been expected to make a change. Tacitus says "abducto Verginio per simulationem amicitiae." It was certainly some tribute to the good faith of Verginius, and possibly some prudent concession to the feelings of his legions, that he received no injury beyond the recall from his province. The expression in cap. 22, *ἀνεμμένων ἀτίμων*, was due simply to the exaggerated feelings of reaction against Galba at a later time.

24. Φλάκκον Ὀρδεάνιον. Conf. cap. 18, "οἱ δὲ πρότερον ὑπὸ Ὀδεργινίῳ γενόμενοι, τότε δ' ὄντες ὑπὸ Φλάκκῳ περὶ Γερμανίαν." He was an old man and an invalid when appointed by Galba, and when the legions declared against Galba and for Vitellius he was quite unequal to the task of maintaining Galba's cause (conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 9); while later on he was completely duped, confused, and out-manoeuvred by Civilis (conf. Tac. *Hist.* iv. 13, 18, 24, etc.).

25–26. πρόσω χωροῦντι, *i.e.* over the Pyrenees, and then by way of Narbo to the Maritime Alps.

26–27. οὔτε ὀργῆς οὔτε τιμῆς ἐπιδήλου τυγχάνων. Conf. Dio Cass. 64. 4, "καὶ παρὰ μὲν ἐκείνου οὐδὲν ὅτι ἄξιον εἰπεῖν εὗρατο, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐκλογίσαιτο, ὅτι πολλάκις αὐτοκράτωρ ἀναμασθεὶς ἔζησε." Otho in this point, as in others, reversed

It was the capital of Gallia Narbonensis and the seat of t proconsul. Its full title was Colonia Iulia Paterna Clau Narbo Martius.

1–2. οἱ παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου πρέσβεις. Not to be confus with the tabellarii whom the consuls had sent with t decrees of the senate (c. 8).

3. ἐπιφανῆναι τῷ δήμῳ ποθοῦντι. Similarly Martial presents the people as anxious for Trajan's appearance Rome. Mart. x. 7, "Traianum populis suis et urbi, Th te dominus rogat, remittas."

4. τάς τε ἄλλας παρεῖχεν, κ.τ.λ. 'He showed a courte and popular demeanour in all his meetings and intervie with them; and in his entertainments, though he had at disposal a quantity of the imperial furniture and service wh Nymphidius had sent him from Nero's property, he mad good impression by using none of this, and in fact noth but his own, thus showing himself a man of proper pride, superior to vulgar ostentation.'

τάς τε ἄλλας simply marks the opposite to πρός τε ἑστιάσ

5. φιλανθρώπους καὶ δημοτικάς. These two epithets coupled together also in Xenophon, *Mem.* i. 2. 60. δημοτ is used very much in the sense in which Suetonius and ot

πολιτικά. See above on δημοτικά, and conf. Demosth. *Phil.* i. 74, "ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ πολιτικῶς ἔχειν τὰ καθ' αὑτόν, καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν πολιτεύεσθαι."

18. Καὶ ὅλως αἰσθήσιν αὐτοῦ, *s.v.l.*, 'and, in a word, the old man showed palpable signs of a tendency, little by little, to fall under the influence of Vinius.' Conf. *Thuc.* ii. 50, "οἱ δὲ πόνοι μᾶλλον αἰσθησιν παρέσχον τοῦ ἀνεβαίνοντος διὰ τὸ συνδιατρῖβεσθαι." For the influence of Vinius see Tac. *Hist.* i. 6, "Invalidum senem Titus Vinius et Cornelius Laco, alter deterrimus mortalium, alter ignaviissimus, odio flagitiorum oneratum contempta inertiae destruebant," and i. 12, "in Titi Vini odium qui in dies quanto potentior eodem acta invisior erat. quippe hiantes in magna fortuna amicorum cupiditates ipsa Galbae facilitas intendebat," and Suet. *Galb.* 13, "Regebatur trium arbitrio quos ... paedagogos vulgo vocabant. Hi erant T. Vinius ... Cornelius Laco .. libertus Icelus ... . His diverso vitiorum genere grassantibus, adeo se abutendum permisit et tradidit, ut vix sibi ipsi constaret."

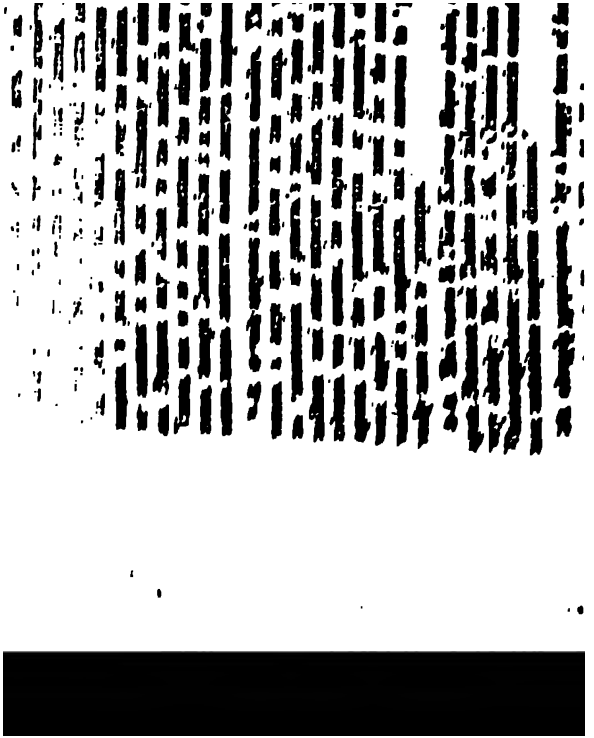
CHAPTER XII.

1–2. Ἦν δὲ Οὐίνιος ἀργυρίου ... ἥττων. Conf. Suet. *Galb.* 14, who says he was 'cupiditatis immensae.'

3–4. στρατευόμενος ὑπὸ Καλβισίῳ Σαβίνῳ. Tacitus tells the same story in nearly the same words. *Hist.* i. 48, "prima militia infamis; legatum Calvisium Sabinum habuerat, cuius uxor mala cupidine visendi situm castrorum per noctem militari habitu ingressa, cum vigiliis et cetera militiae munia eadem lascivia temptasset, in ipsis principiis stuprum ausa est."

στρατευόμενος ... τὴν πρώτην στρατείαν, *i.e.* as military tribune. The military tribuneship was a necessary condition for all young men who wished to enter on the senatorial 'cursus honorum.' Contrast the conduct of Agricola with that of Vinius (Tac. *Agric.* 5), "Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino diligenti ac moderato duci approbavit ... Nec Agricola licenter, more iuvenum, qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque seguiter ad voluptates et commeatus titulum tribunatus et inscitiam rettulit."

ὑπὸ Καλβισίῳ Σαβίνῳ. C. Calvisius Sabinus was probably the grandson of Calvisius Sabinus, one of Iulius Caesar's legates (Caes. *Bell. Civ.* iii. 34 and 55). He was consul under Tiberius in 26 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 46). Accused of maiestas



Hermogenes 'mapparum fur.' Hunc 21, 22, "Ad eosdem Hermogenes mappam suam attulit usquam, A cena semper retulit Hermogenes."

16. κωμικώτερον γενομένην, 'which ended rather in comedy.' The word is used here in a somewhat unusual connection to point the contrast to the τραγικῶν πολλῶν below.

17–18. ἃ δὲ τὸν Γάλβαν ἔχων ἐφ' αὑτοῦ, κ.τ.λ. 'But the avaricious deeds he committed, when he had Galba under his influence and was the most powerful man in the state, brought on many people a tragic fate and heavy calamities, while they furnished others with a pretext for bringing about these results.'

20. τοὺς μὲν, the victims of, and sufferers by, his avarice, among whom Galba himself would have to be reckoned.

τοὺς δὲ, men like Nymphidius Sabinus who used, as a means of persuading the praetorians to revolt, the predominant influence of Vinius and Laco over the aged emperor. See below, "ἔφη Γάλβαν μὲν αὐτὸν εἶναι τριετήρου ἐνιαυσίῳ καὶ μέτρῳ, ἐλάχιστα δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρήματος λαγχάνειν ὑπὸ Οὐινίου καὶ Λάκωνος ὧν οὐ δυνήσεσθαι."

CHAPTER XIII.

1. Ὁ γὰρ Νυμφίδιος. The γὰρ connects what follows with the last words of the previous sentence. Conf. former note.

ἐπανελθόντος τοῦ Γάλλωνος. See above on cap. 9, *ad fin.*

3–4. τῆς μὲν αὐλῆς καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων. See note on cap. 2.

4. Κορνήλιον Λάκωνα. Of Laco's previous history we are ignorant. He was probably the freedman of some member of the Cornelian gens. He had made himself useful to Galba, and may possibly have been a procurator in his province, who, unlike the other procurators, espoused the cause of the legate rather than that of the emperor. See on cap. 4. At any rate he was now made the colleague of Nymphidius in the 'praefectura praetorii,' a position which after the death of the latter he held alone. Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 6) calls him "ignavissimus mortalium." His relation with Vinius seems not to have been always friendly. At any rate he and Icelus were strongly opposed to Vinius in the matter of the adoption (*Hist.* i. 13), "Vinius pro Othone, Laco atque Icelus consensu non tam unum aliquem fovebant quam alium," while we find them again at variance when the catastrophe of Galba's reign

was impending (Plut. *Galb.* 26). On Laco's death see below, cap. 27. Conf. Suet. *Galb.* 14, who says he was "ex adsessore praefectus praetorii." The 'adsessores,' however (*παρεδρεύοντες*), were 'legati pro praetore' under the proconsuls in senatorial provinces, and the term can only be applied improperly to Laco under Galba.

8–6. αὐτῷ δὲ μηδέποτε τοῦ Γ. στῆν[illegible] πλησίον ἐγγεγονέναι, 'and that he would never have the c[illegible]nce to be near Galba's person, or to have any interview wit[illegible] him in private, as all made him an object of suspicion and [illegible]servation,' etc.

There may be some corruption in [illegible]γονέναι. It must refer to the future, as Nymphidius had [illegible]et seen Galba since his elevation, and so we should have [illegible]ted ἐξεῖναι ἄν or ἐγγίγνεσθαι ἄν. ἐγγίγνεται is occasion[illegible]ised as equivalent to ἐξέστι.

9. τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ στρατεύματος, *i.e.* the tribunes and centurions of the praetorian cohorts.

10–11. ἥκιστα δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ., 'but that he was by no means guided by his own principles, and was directed to no good end by Vinius and Laco.'

13. ἣν ἔσχε Τιγελλῖνος ἰσχύν. On Tigellinus and his influence with Nero conf. note on cap. 8.

15. ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου, *i.e.* from the praetorian camp.

τοὺς διδάξοντας = 'qui docerent.' On this use of the article with fut. partic. in a final sense see Madvig, *Gr. Syn.* 180 *b*, rem. 1.

16. τῶν φίλων. The 'amici' of the emperors were those persons of senatorial or equestrian rank who were admitted to a more or less close attendance upon his person, and from among whom he chose a sort of cabinet-council ('consilium principis'). Sometimes these 'amici' retained their position under successive emperors. Conf. Suet. *Tit.* 7, "Amicos elegit quibus etiam post eum principes, ut et sibi et reipublicae necessariis, acquieverunt, praecipueque sunt usi." These friends, though unofficially, exercised often a considerable influence upon the government. See Tac. *Hist.* iv. 7, "Pertinere ad utilitatem reipublicae, pertinere ad Vespasiani honorem, occurrere illi, quos innocentissimos senatus habeat, qui honestis sermonibus aures imperatoris imbuant. fuisse Vespasiano amicitiam cum Thrasea, Sorano, Sentio, ... hoc senatus iudicio velut admoneri principem, quos probet, quos reformidet. nullum maius boni imperii instrumentum quam bonos amicos esse." Otho, as one of the 'amici Neronis,' is described (Suet. *Oth.* 3) as "omnium consiliorum secretorumque particeps."

The leading 'consulares' and the 'praefectus urbi' were usually 'friends' of the emperor; and, belonging to the equestrian order, the 'praefectus Aegypti' and the 'praefecti praetorio' were almost always included in the number. So Trajan writes to Pliny (*Ep.* 7), "Ut epistulam tibi ad Pompeium Plantam, praefectum Aegypti, amicum meum, mittam."

ἀπηλλαγμένος, 'having got rid of.'

17. ποθεινότερος, almost = 'exoptatior'; more missed, and so more strongly desired. Conf. Plin. *Ep. ad Trai.* 10, "exoptatissimi adventus tui."

19. ἄνευ ἄρτι γενόμενον ἐξουσίας παρήκειν. On the completion of the 15th year Roman boys exchanged the 'praetexta' for the 'toga virilis,' a change which marked their entry into public life. This was called 'tirocinium fori,' and the 'toga virilis' was sometimes called 'toga libera,' because it marked the commencement of a more independent life (*ἐξουσίας*). Conf. Ovid, *Trist.* v. 377, "Sive quod ex Liber, vestis quoque libera per te Sumitur, et vitae liberioris iter." Conf. also Plut. *περὶ τοῦ ἀκούειν* cap. 1, "*ὅτε τῶν προσταττόντων ἀπήλλαξαι, τὸ ἀνδρεῖον ἀπειλημφὼς ἱμάτιον.*"

20. οἷς χρήσονται φίλοις ἢ μή. The year following upon the 'tirocinium fori' was a sort of year of probation. Conf. Cic. *pro Cael.* 5, 11, "Nobis quidem olim annus erat unus ad cohibendum brachium toga constitutus, et ut exercitatione ludoque campestri tunicati uteremur;" and during this time the youth was usually put under the special surveillance of some mature friend. Conf. Cic. *de Amicit.* 1, "Ego autem a patre ita eram deductus ad Scaevolam sumpta virili toga, ut, quoad possem et liceret, a senis latere nunquam discederem."

21. ῥυθμίζειν, 'to put limits upon.'

22. δεδιττόμενος, Attic form of *δειδίσσομαι*, the causative of *δείδω*.

22–23. ὡς τῆς πόλεως ἐχούσης. On *ὡς* with gen. abs. after a phrase denoting opinion or utterance see Madvig, *Gr. Syn.* § 181 a, rem. 2.

ὄντως καὶ μετέωρα. There is a confusion of metaphors here, though *μετέωρος* has almost lost all metaphorical meaning. Conf. Demosth. *De Fals. Legat.* 122, "*ὅτι γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων μετεώρων καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀδήλου*"; and Plato, *Gorg.* 318 E, "*ὅτι δὲ οἶδεῖ (ἡ πόλις) καὶ ὄντως ἔστι δ' ἐκείνους τοὺς παλαιοὺς οὐκ αἰσθάνονται.*" What the state of the city was at this time is described by Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 4 and 5. Conf. especially "Finis Neronis ut laetus primo gaudentium impetu fuerat, ita varios motus animorum non modo in urbe apud

parata."

23–24. Κλώδιον Μάκρ
the action of Clodius Ma
above on cap. 6. His dea
attempt to detain the corn
to have been suggested to
Crispinilla.

25. παρακινεῖν τὰ Γερμανι
Upper Germany, displeased l
soon showed signs of insubo
Hordeonius Flaccus, we sha
Hist. i. 9, "Superior exercitus
spernebat, senecta ac debilitat
stantia, sine auctoritate," etc.).
may probably be to the susp
Capito, the legate of Lower Ge
killed, on the pretext that he w
to those of Clodius Macer, by
Aquinus (Tac. *Hist.* i. 7). Tac
rant Capitonem, ut avaritia et l
ita cogitatione rerum novarum a
suadentibus, postquam impeller
ultro compositum." Conf. also
below, cap. 15.

25–26. περὶ τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ
This was probably a
There

Vitellius. No further allusion is made to them in the two Lives before us, as neither Galba nor Otho were directly affected by them. Tacitus gives an account of the origin of the movement in Syria and Judaea in *Hist.* ii. 1-7 and 73-86. On the first outbreak of the Jewish war in 66 A.D. C. Sestius Gallus, the legate of Syria, was recalled, and Mucianus sent to succeed him, but not to conduct the Jewish war, which was entrusted to Titus Flavius Vespasianus with the title of 'legatus Augusti pro praetore Iudaeae.' The legions were divided between them, Mucianus retaining VI. Ferrata, IV. Scythica, and XII. Fulminata, while Vespasian commanded XV. Apollinaris, V. Macedonica, and X. Fretensis. With this force during 67 Vespasian took a number of Jewish towns, and next year was about to commence the siege of Jerusalem when the events happening in Italy diverted him and gave the Jews a longer respite.

29. Κλέβιος Κίλιξ Ἀντιοχεύς, no doubt some enfranchised Syrian slave, who would adopt the gentile name of his patron. On the number of Syrians in Rome conf. Juv. 3, 62, "Iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes."

30. Νυμφίδιον, *i.e.* Nymphidius.

31. *συνοικίαν.* Conf. Aeschin. 17. 29 (quoted in Liddell and Scott), "ὅταν πολλοὶ μισθωσάμενοι μίαν οἴκησιν διειλόμενοι ἔχωσιν συνοικίαν καλοῦμεν." It is here equivalent to the Latin 'insula,' a block of houses inhabited by a number of poorer families.

Καίσαρα προσαγορεύειν. Strictly speaking, it was the senate who conferred the cognomen 'Caesar.' It was only the title of 'Imperator' which could be given by the acclamation of the troops. Conf. Plut. *Galb.* 28, "καὶ Καίσαρα καὶ Σεβαστὸν ἀπηγόρευον (ἡ βουλή)." The title, however, might be informally and by anticipation given by the troops: conf. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 80, "Pauci milites ... imperatorem salutavere: tum ceteri adcurrere, Caesarem et Augustum et omnia principatus vocabula cumulare," and iii. 86, "Domitianum ... Caesarem consalutatum miles in paternos penates deduxit;" or assumed by a new emperor himself, Suet. *Galb.* 11, "Deposita legati suscepit Caesaris appellationem."

32. Ἀλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ κατεγέλων, 'but most of them laughed at his warning.' This is much better than to suppose that τοῦ Γάλβα is understood for what follows.

32-33. Μιθριδάτης ὁ Ποντικός, a 'peregrinus' by his title. He is mentioned again as sharing the fate of Nymphidius, cap. 15.

33-34. τὴν φαλακρότητα καὶ *μυωπότητα* τοῦ Γάλβα. The

splendid bust of Galba in the Capitoline Museum represent his face and especially the forehead deeply wrinkled, and th hair scanty. See Duruy, *Rom. Hist.*, vol. iv., p. 366.

35. τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων, κ.τ.λ., 'a disgrace to the day during which he had the title of Caesar.'

CHAPTER XIV.

1. εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν, 'into the barracks,' *i.e.* the pra torian camp. The word is similarly used of the 'turr Antonia' at Jerusalem (Tac. *Hist.* v. 11) which was made tl permanent barracks of the Roman garrison. Conf. *Acts* o *Apostles* xxii. 24, "*ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ὁ χιλίαρχος ἄγεσθαι εἰς τ παρεμβολήν.*"

2. ἀναδεικνύειν αὐτοκράτορα, 'to proclaim him imperator' ἀποδεικνύειν would be to 'appoint' him, and might be used the senate, but not of the army. Conf. Dio Cass. 64. "*ὁ Γάλβας αὐτοκράτωρ ἀπεδείχθη.*"

3. τῶν χιλιάρχων, 'of the tribunes.' Each of the nine pra torian cohortes was commanded by a tribunus. Conf. Wil

eum auctore Burro (the praefect) prima centurionum tribunorumque adulatio ad spem firmavit, prensantium manum gratantiumque quod discrimen improvisum et matris facinus evasisset."

11–12. σφαγὴν γυναικός. On the death of Octavia in 62 A.D., see Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 63-64. She was first, on an inconsistent charge, banished to the island of Pandateria, and then, after a few days, "Restringitur vinclis, venaeque eius per omnes artus exsolvuntur; et quia pressus pavore sanguis tardius labebatur, praefervidi balnei vapore enecatur. Additurque atrocior saevitia, quod caput amputatum latumque in urbem Poppaea vidit."

12. θυμέλην here = musical performances. The θυμέλη was in the Greek theatres an altar to Dionysus, placed in the middle of the orchestra, round which originally the dithyrambic chorus sang its songs. Then as the drama developed the spokesman of the chorus stood by the θυμέλη, where he recited his part. Gradually, and especially in the Roman period, it was used of the orchestra as a whole, and especially in connection with the musical pieces or pantomimes. and so 'thymelici' came to be the musical performers in opposition to the 'scenici,' the dramatic actors. So Isidorus, *Orig.* xviii. 47, says, "Thymelici erant musici scenici, qui in organis et lyris et citharis praecinebant, et dicti thymelici quod olim in orchestra stantes cantabant supra pulpitum quod thymele vocabatur." Dio Cassius (63. 22) represents Vindex as making accusations of this sort against Nero, "εἶδον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον ... ἐν τῷ τοῦ θεάτρου κύκλῳ, καὶ ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ ποτὲ μὲν κιθάραν ἔχοντα, καὶ ὀρθοστάδιον καὶ κοθόρνους, ποτὲ δὲ ἐμβάτας καὶ προσωπεῖον. ἤκουσα αὐτοῦ πολλάκις ᾀδοντος, ἤκουσα κηρύττοντος, ἤκουσα τραγῳδοῦντος," κ.τ.λ. For Nero's professional appearances on the stage, see Suet. *Ner.* 20 and 21, 22-24, and Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 15, "Postremus ipse scenam incedit, multa cura temptans citharam et praemeditans .... Adcesserat cohors militum, centuriones tribunique, et maerens Burrus ac laudans," from which it appears that the praetorians took no greater offence at the time at the play-acting than they had done at the matricide. Conf. Juvenal's reference to Nero's crimes, 8, 215 foll., "Par Agamemnonidae crimen, sed causa facit rem Dissimilem; quippe ille deis auctoribus ultor Patriis erat caesi media inter pocula; sed nec Electrae iugulo se polluit aut Spartani Sanguine coniugii; nullis aconita propinquis Miscuit, in scena nunquam cantavit Orestes; Troica non scripsit. Quid enim Verginius armis Debuit ulcisci magis, aut cum Vindice Galba, Quod Nero tam saeva crudaque tyrannide fecit?" etc.

13–14. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ... ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπεμείναμεν, κ.τ.λ. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 5, "Miles urbanus ... ad destituendum Neronem arte magis et inpulsu quam suo ingenio traductus." With ὑπομένειν and an inf. conf. the use in silver Latin of 'sustineo' with an inf.

15. ὅτι πρῶτος ἡμᾶς ἐγκατέλιπε, κ.τ.λ. Conf. cap. 2, "Νυμφίδιος Σαβῖνος ... ἔπεισε τὸ στρατιωτικὸν, ὡς μηκέτι παρόντος, ἀλλ' ἤδη τεθνεῶτος," and note

16. ἐπιθυσώμεθα, 'sacrifice.' [illegible]rch uses the word in the same metaphorical sense, *Vit.* [illegible]*cell.* 29.

17. τὸν ἐκ Νυμφιδίας, Nymphidius: [illegible]ee above on cap. 9.

18. τὸν ἐκ Λιβίας, Galba: see on c[illegible] 3.

τὸν ἐξ Ἀγριππίνης, Nero. His mot[illegible]r, the younger Agrippina, was daughter of German[illegible] the elder Agrippina. From her marriage with Cn. [illegible] Ahenobarbus (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 75) Nero was born, [illegible]ginal name being L. Domitius Nero. She afterwards married her uncle Claudius, and caused him to adopt her son, and also to wed him to his daughter Octavia.

19. τούτῳ, Nymphidius.

δίκην ἐπιθέντες. The more usual phrase is δίκην λαβεῖν, but see Hdt. i. 120, "Ἁρπάγῳ μὲν Ἀστυάγης δίκην ταύτην ἐπέθηκε."

22. προσέθεντο, 'agreed with.' Conf. Hdt. ii. 120, "ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ λογῷ τῷ περὶ τῆς Ἑλένης λεχθέντι καὶ αὐτὸς προστίθεμαι," and Thuc. i. 120, "πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ... οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἴονται, ὥσπερ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέας μὴ μιᾷ ψήφῳ προστίθεσθαι ἑκάτερον, ἀλλὰ δυοῖν."

πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται, *i.e.* all those of his cohort.

25–26. ὥς φασιν ἔνιοι. This by no means implies that Plutarch had himself consulted several authorities. He is probably merely repeating what his authorities reported. See Introduction, p. xxxv.

27. προλαβεῖν, 'to be beforehand with.'

τὸ θορυβοῦν ἔτι καὶ διστάζον, 'those who were still excited and wavering.'

28. ὑπὸ φωτὶ πολλῷ, 'lighted by numerous torches.' Conf. the phrases ὑπὸ σάλπιγγι, ὑπὸ κήρυκι, ὑπὸ μάστιξιν, etc.

28–29. λόγον τινὰ ... ἐν βιβλίῳ γεγραμμένον, κ.τ.λ., 'a speech written out on a papyrus roll.'

29. ὑπὸ Κιγγωνίου Βάρρωνος. Cingonius Varro, who composed the speech for Nymphidius ("ὁ τὸν λόγον γράψας," cap. 15), was of senatorial rank and indeed consul designatus for

the last months of 68. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 6, and see *Ann.* xiv. 45.

20. ἐκμεμελετήκει, 'had prepared thoroughly,' *i.e.* had learned by heart. Conf. Plat. *Hipp. Maj.* 286 B, "ἀκούσας καὶ μαθὼν καὶ ἐκμελετήσας."

22. τί βούλονται, 'what their intentions are.'

25. Γάλβαν αὐτοκράτορα γνώσεσθαι, 'that they recognised Galba as emperor.'

26. ἰόντες χωρὶν, 'proceeding to meet them,' not here in a hostile sense, as it generally is.

ἐπεφήμισε, 'joined in their acclamation,' *i.e.* for Galba.

27. παρόντων, 'having admitted.' Conf. Hdt. viii. 15, "οἱ μὲν δὴ παρεκελεύοντο, ὅκως μὴ παρήσουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῖσι βαρβάροισι."

29. θυρεῷ, properly a stone to keep fast a door, then applied to an oblong shield; Lat. 'scutum.' Conf. Plut. *Vit. Pyrrh.* 26.

Σαντίμιος. So in cap. 26 the name of the centurion is given who attempted to defend Galba, and in cap. 27 the names of those who are variously said to have killed him.

48. κιγκλίδα. Conf. Plut. *Vit. Caes.* 68, "ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν νεκρῷ περισωρεύσαντες ἐξ ἀγορᾶς βάθρα καὶ κιγκλίδας καὶ τραπέζας." Some railings, properly the cancelli of a basilica. See Liddell and Scott, *sub voc.*

θέαμα τοῖς βουλομένοις. Conf. Juv. 10, 66, "Seianus ducitur unco Spectandus."

CHAPTER XV.

1. καταστρέψαντος (*sc.* βίον). Conf. Plut. *Vit. Themist.* 31, "(ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς) ὡς μὲν ὁ πολὺς λόγος αἷμα ταύρειον πιὼν, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι, φάρμακον ἐφήμερον προσενεγκάμενος ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ κατέστρεψε." And with βίον expressed, *Vit. Thes.* 19, "Μίνως παρὰ τὰ δόγματα μακραῖς ναυσὶ διώκων ὑπὸ χειμῶνος εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπηνέχθη κἀκεῖ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον."

2. τῶν συνωμοτῶν αὐτοῦ, 'his fellow conspirators.'

4. Κιγγώνιος. See above, cap. 14. He was apparently killed whilst on his way to meet Galba, perhaps to excuse his conduct. Tac. *Hist.* i. 37, quoted below.

5–6. μὴ νομίμως, εἰ καὶ δικαίως. The emperors, as Mommsen has shown once for all in his *Staatsrecht*, were not

irresponsible autocrats who could do what they pleased with the lives of the citizens. Their rights and privileges were strictly limited by law. De iure the emperor could only put a senator to death after a trial. This trial might take place before the senate, or it might be conducted by the emperor himself, since the supreme courts of the senate and emperor had practically taken the place of the more popular tribunals of the republic. Or in great emergency the emperor might, if he chose, dispense with a regular trial by having recourse to the 'senatus consultum ultimum,' by means of which certain persons were declared 'hostes publici,' and might be killed with impunity. See note on cap. 5. De facto no doubt emperors like Caligula and Nero often dispensed with any sort of legal formalities and gave orders at will for the murder or execution of Roman citizens; but it was precisely in matters like this that some reformation was looked for from Galba. In this case there was no question of a trial, and though it would have been a fitting case for the application of the 'senatus consultum ultimum' (and so they were killed perhaps *δικαίως*), Galba gave his order for their death without waiting for and requesting this from the senate. Otho no doubt appealed to the general feeling when he asked (Tac. *Hist.* i. 37), "Quam gloriam ad principatum attulit nisi occisi Obultronii Sabini, et Cornelii Marcelli in Hispania, Betui Chilonis in Gallia, Fontei Capitonis in Germania, Clodii Macri in Africa, Cingonii in via, Turpiliani in urbe, Nymphidii in castris?" So Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 6) says of Cingonius and Turpilianus, "Inauditi atque indefensi tanquam innocentes perierant." Conf. Suet. *Galb.* 14, "Quosdam claros ex utroque ordine viros suspicione minima inauditos condemnavit;" and see cap. 11, "Iterque ingressus est paludatus, ac dependente a cervicibus pugione ante pectus, nec prius usum togae recuperavit, quam oppressis, qui novas res moliebantur, praefecto praetorii Nymphidio Sabino Romae, in Germania Fonteio Capitone, in Africa Clodio Macro, legatis."

6. μηδὲ δημοτικῶς. On *δημοτικῶς* see note in cap. 11.

8–9. ἐξαπατώμενοι συνήθως ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ λεγομένων, 'being habitually deceived by the promises made at the beginning of a reign.' This was pre-eminently the case with Caligula. Conf. Suet. *Calig.* 15, "Incendebat et ipse studia hominum omni genere popularitatis," and "Pari popularitate damnatos relegatosque restituit, criminumque, si qua residua ex priore tempore manebant, omnium gratiam fecit," and "Libellum de salute sua oblatum non recepit, contendens, nihil sibi admissum cur cuiquam invisus esset; negavitque

se delatoribus aures habere." So also Claudius (Suet. *Claud.* 11), "Imperio stabilito nihil antiquius duxit quam id biduum, quo de mutando reipublicae statu haesitatum erat, memoriae eximere. Omnium itaque factorum dictorumque in eo veniam et oblivionem in perpetuum exaxit et praestitit." Nero again most emphatically promised (Suet. *Ner.* 10) "Ex Augusti praescripto imperaturum se," and "Cum de supplicio cuiusdam capite damnati, ut ex more subscriberet, admoneretur: 'Quam vellem' inquit 'nescire literas.'"

11. **Πετρώνιος Τουρπιλιανός.** Petronius Turpilianus had been consul ordinarius in 61 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 29), the year of the rising under Boadicea in Britain. After his consulship was over, *i.e.* in about March of the same year, he was appointed to succeed Suetonius Paulinus in Britain (*Ann.* xiv. 39, *Agric.* 16). Successful in restoring order in the province, he received in 65 the 'triumphale decus' from the senate on the emperor's proposal: *Ann.* xv. 72, "Vocat senatum et triumphale decus Petronio Turpiliano consulari (conf. *ἀνδρὶ ὑπατικῷ*) tribuit." We know from Frontinus, *de Aquaeduc.* 102, that he was curator aquarum. He was killed "ut dux Neronis" (Tac. *Hist.* i. 6). Conf. *Νέρωνι πιστὸν*; and is mentioned again in the list of victims (*Hist.* i. 37).

11-12. **Μάκρωνα γὰρ ἐν Λιβύῃ διὰ Τρεβωνίου, κ.τ.λ.** Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 7, who evidently gained his information from the same source as Plutarch, "Forte congruerat ut Clodii Macri et Fontei Capitonis caedes nuntiarentur. Macrum in Africa haud dubie turbantem Trebonius Garutianus procurator iussu Galbae, Capitonem in Germania, cum similia coeptaret, Cornelius Aquinus et Fabius Valens legati legionum interfecerant, antequam iuberentur. Fuere qui crederent Capitonem ut avaritia et libidine foedum ac maculosum, ita cogitatione novarum rerum abstinuisse; sed a legatis bellum suadentibus postquam impellere nequiverint, crimen ac dolum ultro compositum; et Galbam mobilitate ingenii, an ne altius scrutaretur, quoquo modo acta, quia mutari non poterant, comprobasse. Ceterum utraque caedes sinistre accepta, et inviso semel principi seu bene seu male facta perinde invidiam adferebant." For Macer see note on cap. 6. **Μάκρωνα** is not so correct as *Μάκρον* in cap. 13.

12. **Φοντήϊον.** C. Fonteius Capito was consul in 59 A.D. See Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 1, and C. I. L. vi. 2041, "*ἐπὶ ὑπάτων* Γ. Ὀδειψτανοῦ Ἀντιστιανοῦ καὶ Γ. *Φοντείου Καπίτωνος.*" He was appointed legatus Germaniae inferioris, where he was popular with the troops (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 58), though guilty of greed and avarice, "adimendis adsignandisque militiae ordinibus" (*Hist.*

...ωλον, i.e. in opposition
...ται.

15–16. λόγον μεταλαβεῖν
his own defence. As Tacit

17. τοῖς γράμμασιν, we
Galba had probably sent a le
his election, in which he m
government and regard for
Nerva, and after him Trajan,
death.

19–20. περὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκ
Suetonius (see below) speak of
his entry into the city.

20. ἐνεστήχασιν ἀκοσμίᾳ καὶ θ
a number of mutinous and disord

20–21. τῶν ἐρετῶν, 'classiarii'
were both counted as soldiers.
classibus omnes remiges et nautae
two fleets stationed in Italy at Mi
Aug. 49), and at first the sailors an
the position of imperial slaves or
time of Claudius, this was so far al
were of free birth, but peregrini
never enlisted for service in the
position, conf. Suet. *Aug.* 16. "
manumissis et ad rem
'peregrini'

legionary troops.' Only Roman citizens could serve in the legions. Peregrini were often enlisted, but always of necessity received the civitas at the time of their enrolment. Inscriptions prove this conclusively, all legionary soldiers having the usual Roman names, praenomen, nomen, and cognomen, whereas auxiliary soldiers, like all peregrini, only have one name, *e.g.* Veturius Teutonii filius (Wilm. 2865). Sometimes, indeed, a whole legion was formed of peregrini, who only received the 'civitas' on entering the legion. These were called 'vernaculae legiones,' and frequently occur during the civil wars before and after the death of Iulius Caesar, but Augustus put a limit on this custom, and only enrolled a legion of this kind (the XXI. Rapax) to fill the gap made by the defeat of Varus (Tac. *Ann.* i. 31). A similar step had been taken by Nero amid the alarm caused by the revolt of Vindex, and the secession of Galba. He had formed a legion from the classiarii or remiges of the fleet, probably that at Misenum. Tac. *Hist.* i. 6, "remanente ea (legione) quam e classe Nero conscripserat." But in the hurry or confusion of the time he had not completed all the necessary formalities to establish their legionary character. He had not actually given them the 'civitas,' nor had he presented the 'eagle,' without which no legion could claim its position and privileges. On Nero's death these marines were not inclined to return to the lower pay and less honourable position of their former service, and they accordingly went out to meet Galba, and to request that their position as legionaries might be confirmed.

24. παρόντες ἐκβεβαιώσασθαι τὴν στρατείαν, 'being present to secure the confirmation of their military position,' causative use of the middle. The verb is not uncommon in Plutarch. Conf. *Vit. Agesil.* 19; *Pompei.* 41.

26–27. σημεῖα τῷ τάγματι καὶ χώραν αἰτοῦντες, 'demanding the ensigns for the legion and a definite position.' Suetonius (*Galb.* 12) says, "aquilam et signa pertinacius flagitantes." For χώρα in this sense of station or position, conf. Xen. *Anab.* v. 6. 13.

27–28. Ἐκείνου δὲ ὑπερτιθεμένου, 'on his deferring the matter.' Here Plutarch agrees with Dio Cassius, 64. 3, καὶ ὅτι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀνεβάλετο, ὡς καὶ σκεψόμενος περὶ τοῦτο (who, however, gives a very inexact account in other respects), and differs from Suetonius, who gives as the reason why the soldiers came to meet him, the fact that he had already ordered them to return to their former position, "cum redire ad pristinum statum coegerit."

29. ἀρνήσεως σχῆμα ... φάσκοντες, 'declaring that the ...ad all the appearance of a refusal.'

παρείποντο, 'followed at his side.'

...δόμενοι. Late writers like Plutarch have to a great ...lurred over the distinction between οὐ and μή; at ... is often used when Attic Greek requires οὐ, though ...ντα.

...'Ενίων δὲ τὰς μαχαίρας σπασαμένων, κ.τ.λ. Plu... ...count of this incident seems perfectly clear. The ...io classica' (Tac. *Hist.* i. 31) comes out to meet ...l prefers its request, causing confusion and hindrance ...r people who had also come out to mee... the new ... Refusing to accept Galba's undecided a... wer, they ... and some of them draw their swo... s. Then ...s his cavalry to charge them, and a co...siderable ... killed. Suetonius virtually agrees with this ...e point mentioned above (*Galb.* 12), '...lam cum ...stinum statum coegerit: recusantes at... insuper ...igna pertinacius flagitantes, non modo ...mmisso ...t, sed decimavit etiam." The last w... s seem ...f the cause of the πολὺς φόνος wa... much ...t. i. 37, "cum decumari deditos i... wards. ... fidem acceperat." Dio Cassius me...ons the ...ὰ τοῦτο δεκατευθέντες, though he mentions 7,000 ...n killed by the cavalry. Tacitus, who only ...event (*Hist.* i. 6), says, "Introitus in urbem ...milibus inermium militum infaustus omine ...am qui occiderant formidolosus." This cer... two inaccuracies. The legion enrolled by ...ikely to be unarmed, and as they were only ...nd men to start with, 'tot milibus' must be ...ion. He puts the same statement in Otho's

οὐδείς. This may possibly be the founda... ...nermium.'

οὐδὲ αἴσιον, κ.τ.λ., 'causing the omen of ... be neither good nor propitious.' Conf. ... Both expressions are probably taken ... the common authority.

...t the time refused to confirm the legionary ...classiarii' when the request was made in ...ner, we know from two military 'diplo... ...so afterwards. From these two 'diplo...

mata,' both dated Dec. 22, 68 A.D., we find that he gave the 'civitas' "veteranis qui militaverunt in legione I. Adiutrice qui vicena stipendia aut plura meruerunt et sunt dimissi honesta missione." What took place was probably this: On Dec. 22 Galba formally recognised the legion, gave it its eagle and its title (I. Adiutrix), and the 'civitas' to all the 'classiarii' in it, while he also gave the 'civitas' with the 'honesta missio' to those who were retiring from service. The legion is several times mentioned in Tacitus, as "legio classica" (i. 31), classicorum legio" (i. 36), "prima legio" (ii. 23), "prima Adiutrix, non ante in aciem deducta" (ii. 43), etc. After the battle of Bedriacum "prima classicorum legio in Hispaniam missa ut pace et otio mitesceret." It is noticeable that Vespasian also created a legion from the marines belonging to the fleet at Ravenna. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* iii. 55, "e classicis legio," at a time when the I. Adiutrix was in Spain. Conf. also iv. 68, "e recens conscriptis secunda," and v. 16, "secundanos nova signa novamque aquilam dicaturos," also a military diploma (Wilm. 2364) in which the 'civitas' is given "veteranis qui militaverunt in legione II. Adiutrice pia fideli qui vicena stipendia aut plura meruerunt." It is only in the case of these two 'legiones adiutrices' that military diplomata are found in connection with legionaries. The other legions already consisted of Roman citizens: these two were 'vernaculae legiones' consisting wholly of 'peregrini.' Those soldiers, therefore, who retired when the legion was formed had to be treated like the auxiliary troops to whom the 'militaria diplomata' exclusively refer.

36–37. οἱ τὰς ... κατεφρόνει ... δεδιότες καὶ γέροντες, κ.τ.λ. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 7, "Ipsa aetas Galbae inrisui ac fastidio erat."

38. ὠμὸς δὲ καὶ φοβερὸς ἐγίνετο. According to Suetonius (*Galb.* 12), a reputation for cruelty had preceded Galba to Rome, "Praecesserat de eo fama saevitiae, quod ... praepositos procuratoresque supplicio capitis affecisset cum coniugibus et liberis."

CHAPTER XVI.

1. τῆς περὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἀμετρίας. Suetonius gives some examples (*Nero* 30), "Quare nec largiendi nec absumendi modum tenuit. In Tiridatem, quod vix credibile videatur, octingena nummum milia diurna erogavit, absentique super sestertium milies contulit. Menecratem citharoedum et Spiculum mir-

millonem triumphalium virorum patrimoniis aedibusque donavit."

8. ἀστοχεῖν, 'to miss,' as εὐστοχεῖν is 'to hit,' the mark.

3–4. Κάνου γὰρ αὐλήσαντος, κ.τ.λ. Suetonius tells the same story more briefly (*Galb.* 12), "Cano autem choraulae mire placenti, denarios quinque donasse, prolatos manu sua e peculiaribus loculis suis."

4. ἀκρόαμα, 'a musician,' abstract f[or] concrete.

6. γλωσσόκομον = 'loculus,' a late [and] rare word, used, however, in the New Testament.

7. χρυσοῦς τινας. Conf. Suet., "de[nar]ios quinque," which at any rate makes it a better story.

8–9. Τὰς δὲ δωρεάς, ἃς Νέρων ἐ[δω]κε περὶ σκηνήν, κ.τ.λ. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 20, and Suet. [Ner.] 15. Tacitus does not specify the class of persons to w[hom] these donations were given. He only says, "Bis et [ter]s milies sestertium donationibus Nero effuderat. A[d] singulari singulos iussit decuma parte liberalitatis apud quemque eorum relicta."

9–10. τοῖς περὶ σκηνὴν καὶ παλαίστραν. Suet., "scenici aut xystici" ('xystus' was a covered colonnade where athletes practised). On Nero's passion for Greek athletics see Suet. *Ner.* 12, "Instituit et quinquennale certamen primus omnium Romae, more Graeco triplex, musicum, gymnicum, equestre, quod appellavit Neronia; dedicatisque thermis atque gymnasio senatui quoque et equiti oleum praebuit," and Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 47, etc.

10–11. πλὴν τοῦ δεκάτου μέρους. See Tac., cited above, and Suet., "Non plus decimis concessis.

11. μικρὰ καὶ γλίσχρα κομιζόμενος, κ.τ.λ. Suet., "Quando illi absumpto pretio solvere nequirent," and Tac., "At illis vix decumae super portiones erant."

12. ἀνηλώκεσαν γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι. Tac., "Isdem erga aliena sumptibus quibus sua prodegerant."

12–13. ἐφήμεροι καὶ σατυρικοί, 'living like satyrs and thinking only of the day.' Plutarch is fond of the epithet σατυρικός. He uses it in *Cato Mai.* 7 and *Pericl.* 13.

13–14. τοὺς πριαμένους παρ' αὐτῶν ... ἀνεζήτει, κ.τ.λ. This is an important circumstance which Tacitus omits to mention, and the omission makes his account inconsistent. For after saying that the recipients of Nero's bounty were unable to repay the money, and had left nothing but the 'instrumenta vitiorum,' he goes on to say, "ubique hasta et sector, et inquieta urbs actionibus," which is explained by the fact that

those who had purchased from them their booty were now called upon to refund. Suetonius agrees with Plutarch, "Liberalitates Neronis ... ea conditione revocandas curavit ut si quid scenici aut xystici donatum olim vendidissent, auferretur emptoribus." Tacitus states, in agreement with Suetonius, that a commission of 30 equites was appointed to carry out this exaction, "Novum officii genus, et ambitu ac numero onerosum."

17. αὐτὸς μὲν ἠδέξα. Conf. the frequent references to the avarice of Galba: Tac. *Hist.* i. 5, 37; Suet. *Galb.* 12, etc.

17-18. φθόνον δὲ καὶ μίσος ἔχων Οθίνης. Otho says (Tac. *Hist.* i. 37), "Minore avaritia ac licentia grassatus esset T. Vinius, si ipse imperasset: nunc et subiectos nos habuit tanquam suos et viles ut alienos"; *Hist.* i. 12, "Etiam in T. Vini odium, qui in dies quanto potentior, eodem actu invisior erat."

20. αὐτὸς δὲ χρήμενος ἐσθῆτος, κ.τ.λ. On his wealth see Tac. *Hist.* i. 37, "Una illa domus sufficit donativo, quod vobis numquam datur et quotidie exprobratur," and i. 48, "Testamentum Ti. Vini magnitudine opum inritum."

20-21. λαμβάνων πάντα καὶ πιπράσκων. Conf. Suet. *Galb.* 15, "At contra nihil non per comites atque libertos pretio addici aut donari passus est gratia; vectigalia, immunitates, poenas innocentium, impunitatem noxiorum."

21. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἡσίοδος. The passage comes from *Works and Days*, line 362, "Ἀρχομένου δὲ πίθου καὶ λήγοντος κορέσασθαι· Μεσσόθι φείδεσθαι· ἐπιλὴ δ' ἐπι πυθμένι φειδώ." 'Take your fill of a wine jar at the opening of it, and when near the end, but be sparing of the middle of it: 'tis a sorry thrift at the bottom' (Paley); *i.e.* you can be extravagant at the beginning when you have plenty, or at the end when there is nothing worth saving, but at no other time. Plutarch means that Vinius had no time to practise moderation, as the end of his good fortune would follow so close upon the beginning.

24. ἐνεπίμπλατο τῆς τύχης, 'revelled to the full in the proffered fortune, considering that its beginning and its ending were well nigh simultaneous.' Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 7, "Servorum manus subitis avidae et tanquam apud senem festinantes."

CHAPTER XVII.

1. τὰ μὲν πρῶτα. This is not taken up by any answering δὲ clause, as the digression about Tigellinus interrupts the thread.

misrepresenting or hindering the emperor's well-intended measures.' This was what Nymphidius had foretold, cap. 13, "τὸν Γάλβαν μὲν αὐτὸν οὕτω προφέρειν ἀτυχεῖ καὶ μέτριον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ χαλεπὸν λογισμοῖς ἐπὶ Οὐίνιον καὶ Λάκωνα καὶ Ἕλικα τοὺς Νερωνιανούς."

4. τῶν Νερωνιανῶν, 'of Nero's favourites.'

4–5. ἀνάκτορον γὰρ τοῖς πονηροῖς. Conf. Suet. *Galb.* 15, "Quin etiam populo Romano deposcente supplicium Haloti et Tigellini, solos ex omnibus Neronis emissarios vel maleficentissimos incolumes praestitit."

5. ὁ Ἕλικος. Helius was one of Claudius' freedmen. While employed in Asia as a procurator of the emperor's private property there he was employed by Agrippina to cause the death of the proconsul M. Junius Silanus. His favour and influence increased under Nero, who, while absent on his theatrical tour in Greece, placed Rome and Italy in the charge of Helius: Dio Cass. 63. 12, "τοῦ μὲν Ἕλικα καὶ τὸν Νάρκισσον τὸν τε Πάλλαντα καὶ τὸν Δοριφόρον τὸν Πάτροβιον καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν ἐν τοῖς Νερωνιανοῖς ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἅτε τε τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν ἀδεκάστως διοικοῦντας, ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ ἀπολιπών." Conf. Suet. *l. c.* Whilst in this province he caused the death of Silanus Claverius and his son for retaining the cognomen Neronis, a title which Nero had arrogated to himself (Dio Cass. 63. 9). His death in company with other favourites of Nero is mentioned by Dio Cass. 64. 3, "τοῦ μὲν Ἕλικα καὶ τὸν Νάρκισσον καὶ τὸν Πάλλαντα καὶ τὸν Δοριφόρον τὸν Πάτροβιον καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν ἐν τοῖς Νερωνιανοῖς ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἅτε τε τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν ἀδεκάστως διοικοῦντας, ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ ἀπολιπών."

Tullianus, another freedman of Nero, who as chamberlain enjoyed immense influence. He was sent on a special mission to Nero in Britain to reconcile the differences between Suetonius Paulinus and the procurator Classicianus (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 38). During Nero's absence from Rome "τὸν Τιγελλῖνον καὶ Καλβαν Κασπούλιον ὕπαρχον, ἐπειδὴ οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἐκεῖνον ἐξεβάλοντο" Dio Cass. 63. 12. His rapacity is alluded to by Seneca *Ep.* 87, "Septem a Nerone hae mensae sunt, et eas non tam regias Tullius, quam quod Polyclitus et Vatinii et Tigellini reperere," and in 88, "Nondum exactas a victoria avaras et Neronis Vitellii Asiaticos Polyclitos Patrobios et quidquid inutilium sequitur."

6. Πατρόβιος, another freedman of Nero. Conf. Dio Cass. 63. 2, "ὁ δὲ Νέρων ... μοναρχίας τε Πατρόβιος ἔσχε· ἡγεμονίαν δὲ Πάλλας ἐβασίλευσε· τοσοῦτον δὲ τῷ Νέρωνι ἐφρόνησε, ὥστε οὐ μόνον ἀνδρὶ ἄλλῳ πλὴν ἀδελφοῦ οὐδενὶ ἐν γυναικὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐς τὸ ἄστυ

εἰσελθών." His name is given by Dio Cassius 64. 3 in the list of Nero's creatures who were put to death by Galba. Galba's mutilated head was after his murder fixed "ante Patrobii tumulum (libertus is Neronis paedem a Galba fuerat)."

7. δι' ἀγορᾶς αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντων. Cond. Dio Cass. 64. 2. quoted above.

7–8. καλὸν μὲν ὄντα καὶ ἁβρὸν παρεῖχε. Compare with this the description of Pliny in the *Panegyric* of Trajan's treatment of the delatores, 34-35, "At tu, Caesar, quam pulchrum spectaculum pro illo nobis exercendi *tormenta* etc.

9. τὸν διδάσκαλον καὶ παιδαγωγὸν τῆς τυραννίδος. On Tigellinus see cap. 8. Suetonius says that the companions Vinius, Laco, and Icelus were called the "paedagogi" (Galb. 14), "quos una et intra Palatium hausterates aut tutores aut adhaerentes paedagogos vulgo vocarent."

10. Ἔβδόμῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ κ.τ.λ., 'that same procurator, however, had been beforehand with them in securing [him] by means of large sums of money.' Icelus was not without the pecuniary motive, but says that Vinius, considering his present position, desired to make provision for the future: *Hist.* i. 72, "Apud Galbam Tac. Vinii procacitas in sensus praeteritis servatam in se iram *flectit*, quae servaverat non clementia, quippe ne meminisse quidem erubescit, in futurum, quia pessimus quisque subitorum principum mutationem pavens adversus praesentia odia praecipuam gratiam praeparat; eadem metu inexplebilis, cum ceteri impunitatis."

11. ἀρραβῶνι, 'arrhabo,' derived from a Semitic word, properly earnest-money, or part of the purchase money paid in advance. Cond. Aul. Gell. xvi. 5 ¾. "'Arrhabonem' autem arrhabo penes Sabinos pecuniam Festus Pompeius dixit sexcentos *denarios*." Ordinarily a name is not used for any money paid for a consideration.

Τουφιλλινοῦ. See note on cap. 15.

13–14. ὅλως δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ μέγα συνεβάστασεν. Icelus was positively the only important help in the conspiracy.

14–16. τοιοῦτος ἄρα ἦν ὁ καιρὸς . . . ἐπιτηδείως. Cond. Tac. *Hist.* i. 72, "Corrupta ad omne facinus Romana iuventus ignaro Galba, ac postremo civilium *odiorum* in privatis."

16–17. μέγα δὲλεγχος τοῦ μηδὲν ἀνύσαντος ἄλλο κ.τ.λ., 'a great proof that nothing was effected the power of Vinius to effect, nor beyond the hopes of those who sought his ruin (τοῦ διδάσκου).

[illegible]

[illegible] sed et Capitolino [illegible] Palfurium [illegible] nullo responso dig- [illegible] voce praeconis." Titus, [illegible] to hire persons to shout in the [illegible] appearance to the executions [illegible] *Tit.* 6. Conf. also Tac. *Hist.* i. [illegible] for the punishment of Tigellinus [illegible] better success, "Concurrere ex [illegible] et ubi plurima vulgi licentia in [illegible] vocibus strepere," etc.

21. ἐπεπλήχθη διαγράμματι, *s.v.l.*, 'was rebuked by an edict.' Conf. Suet. *Galb.* 15, "Pro Tigellino etiam saevitiae populum edicto increpuit."

23. ὑπὸ φθινώδους νόσου διαπονούμενον, 'being exhausted by a wasting disease.' So Plutarch speaks (*Oth.* 2) of the σαπρὰ ἀνήκεστα σώματα, and when his fate overtook him he was at the baths of Sinuessa (Tac. *Hist.* i. 72).

25–26. 'Αχθομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου καταγελάσας, 'in mockery of the people's vexation.'

26–27. θυσίαι σωτήρια = 'vota propter salutem solvit.' Conf. Xen. *Anab.* iii. 2. 9.

29. ἐκώμασεν ὡς ἐκεῖνον, 'went to a revel at his house,' an instance of the 'constructio praegnans,' the idea of motion being implied from the previous ἀφικνεῖται.

ἄγων τὴν θυγατέρα, *s.v.l.*, Crispina, whom Tigellinus, according to Tacitus, had protected (*Hist.* i. 72), and who is afterwards mentioned as burying the body of her father (i. 47).

30. προπίνειν. προπίνειν = (1) to drink one's health. (2) To make a present to a person on doing so: conf. Demosth. *Fals. Leg.* 139, "μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐν θυσίᾳ τινὶ πίνων καὶ φιλανθρωπευόμενος πρὸς αὐτούς ὁ Φίλιππος ἄλλα τε δὴ πολλ', οἷον εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τελευτῶν ἐκπώματ' ἀργυρᾶ καὶ χρυσᾶ προὔπινεν αὐτοῖς." (3) To give recklessly away: Demosth. *De Cor.* 296, "τὴν ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες Φιλίππῳ."

31. πέντε καὶ δέκα μυριάδας ἀργυρίου, *i.e.* 250,000 denarii, or a million sestercea.

32. τὴν ἀγελαρχοῦσαν, a rare word. Conf. the expression 'familiam ducere,' 'to be the head slave.'

33–34. πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδων = 600,000 sestercea.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1–2. καὶ τὰ μετρίως πραττόμενα διαβολὴν εἶχεν. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 7, "Inviso semel principi seu bene seu male facta premunt," and Suet. *Galb.* 14, "Quamquam multa documenta egregii principis daret: sed nequaquam tam grata erant quam invisa quae secus fierent."

2–3. ὡς τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας Οὐίνδικι συναραμένους, 'as in his proceedings towards the Gauls who had supported Vindex.' The chief Gallic tribes which joined Vindex were the Sequani (Tac. *Hist.* i. 51), between the Jura Mountains,

the Arar, and the Dubis, with Vesontio the chief town; the Aedui, chief town Augustodunum, between the middle Liger (Loire) and the Arar; and the Arverni, capital Augustonemetum, north-west of the Cevennes (Tac. *Hist.* iv. 17); whilst Vienna, the old capital of the Allobroges, and the seat of the proconsul of Gallia Narbonensis, also took the same side, and was even described as "sedes Gallici belli" (Tac. *Hist.* i. 65). On the other hand, the Lingones and the Treveri (*Hist.* i. 53), and generally all that "pars Galliarum quae Rhenum accolit" (Tac. *Hist.* i. 51), and Lugdunum, the meeting place of the Gallic provincial concilium, all opposed Vindex and Galba.

3–4. οὐ φλαυθρωπία τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. However Galba may have been deluded by the first overtures of Vindex, his eyes must have been opened afterwards as to the real nature of this Gallic rising, and it is extremely probable that Plutarch is right in suggesting that the rewards given to the Gallic states which had helped Vindex were the result of a piece of jobbery on the part of Vinius, who, as we know (cap. 16), was ταῦτα πιπρασκων; and how lax Galba was in permitting this sort of thing appears from Suet. *Galb.* 15, "Nihil non per comites atque libertos pretio addici aut donari passus est gratia, vectigalia, immunitates, poenas innocentium," etc. Schiller, however, may be right in suggesting that Galba found it necessary to secure for himself as much of Gaul as possible, and as the eastern tribes shared the attitude of Verginius he conciliated those at least who had nominally declared for him, wilfully shutting his eyes to the fact of their intended treason with Vindex.

5. ἀνέσεως τε Σαυρῶν καὶ πολιτείας. That the Gallic states complained of the weight of the taxes we know from Tacitus in connection with the rising under Sacrovir and Florus, *Ann.* iii 40, "Galliarum civitates ob magnitudinem aeris alieni rebellionem coeptavere," and "Igitur per conciliabula et coetus seditiosa disserebant de continuatione tributorum, gravitate faenoris," etc. Conf. also Dio Cass. 63. 22, "ὁ Βίνδιξ συναθροίσας τοὺς Γαλάτας, πολλὰ πεπονθότας τε ἐν ταῖς συγχαῖς ἀναπραξεσι τῶν χρημάτων καὶ ἔτι πάσχοντας ὑπὸ Νέρωνος," Galba, or Vinius in his name, seems to have remitted a fourth part of the tribute in the case of the Sequani and Aedui: see Tac. *Hist.* i. 51, "Igitur Sequanis Aeduisque ac deinde, prout opulentia civitatibus erat, infensi expugnationes urbium ... hauserunt animo, super avaritiam et adrogantiam, praecipua validiorum vitia, contumacia Gallorum inritati, qui remissam sibi a Galba quartam tributorum partem et publice donatos in ignominiam exercitus iactabant." On the other hand he

punished the states which did not join him at once by increased tribute, Suet. *Galb.* 12, "Quod civitates Hispaniarum Galliarumque, quae cunctantius sibi accesserant, gravioribus tributis, quasdam etiam murorum destructione punisset"; or by loss of territory, Tac *Hist.* i. 53, "Et Treveri et Lingones quaeque alias civitates atrocibus edictis aut damno finium Galba perculerat, hibernis legionum propius miscentur." With regard to the Roman civitas, with the exception of Lugdunum there was not a single full Roman colony in the 'tres Galliae,' *i.e.* Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Belgica. The franchise was no doubt conferred by the emperors on individual Gauls, as on individuals in other parts of the empire, either on entering the legions or quitting the auxiliary service, or as a special reward for other merits; but this civitas did not include the right to stand for Roman magistracies, nor therefore the right of sitting in the Roman senate. This limitation was to a certain extent set aside by the emperor Claudius: "Cum primores Galliae quae comata appellatur, foedera et civitatem Romanam pridem assecuti, ius adipiscendorum in urbe honorum expeterent, multis ea super re variusque rumor." Tacitus puts a speech on the subject into the mouth of Claudius (*Ann.* xi. 24), which can now be compared with the actual speech, fragments of which have been discovered on two bronze tablets at Lyons. See Appendix to Nipperdey's edition of the *Annals*. The change was made in accordance with his wishes, "Orationem principis secuto patrum consulto, primi Aedui senatorum in urbe ius adepti sunt," *i.e.* those of the Aedui who had already the civitas were now to have also the 'ius honorum' and its consequences. This was no doubt extended to the other Gallic states, so that the civitas when acquired from this time involved all the privileges properly attaching to it. For Galba's grant of the civitas see Tac. *Hist.* i. 8, "Galliae super memoriam Vindicis obligatae recenti dono Romanae civitatis et in posterum tributi levamento." From these words it is, of course, not to be inferred that all the Gallic states received the franchise, nor even that the Sequani, Aedui, and Arverni received it. Such wholesale grants of the franchise were never made, and least of all would they be so by an emperor who, as Suetonius said, "civitatem Romanam raro dedit" (*Galb.* 14). We can only infer that a number of the leading men in these states, how many we do not know, but enough to draw attention and excite jealousy, received individually the civitas from the emperor. Vienna, which had also joined Vindex, partly out of jealousy for Lugdunum, was already a full colony. Conf. Claudius' speech, "Ornatissima colonia valentissimaque Viennensium quae longo iam tempore senatores huic curiae confert." A proof, if one were

communities received it from Vespasian: Plin. *P*
3. 30, "Universae Hispaniae Vespasianus Imperat
iactatus procellis reipublicae Latii ius tribuit."

7. τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας, *i.e.* the praetorian cohor

8–9. εἰ καὶ μὴ τοσοῦτον, 'if not as much as th
promised,' *i.e.* by Nymphidius. See on cap. 2.

9. ἀλλ' ὅσον Νέρων ἔδωκεν. Claudius (Suet.
had promised 15,000 sesterces to each man, "prom
quina dena sestertia, primus Caesarum fidem n
praemio pignoratus," while Nero "ὑπέσχετο
Κλαύδιος ἐδεδώκει" (Dio Cass. 61. 3). Tacitus (*
"Constat potuisse conciliari animos quantulacu
senis liberalitate." He also speaks (i. 25) of
being influenced "ira et desperatione dilati toties

10–11. φωνὴν ἡγεμόνι μεγάλῳ πρέπουσαν, κ.τ.λ.
(i. 5) "Accessit Galbae vox pro re publica honesta,
legi a se militem non emi"; and Suet. *Galb.* 16,
in verba eius absentis iurantibus donativum gra
praepositi pronuntiassent, neque rem ratam habuit
iactavit se legere militem non emere consuesse."
Cass. 64. 3.

13–14. Ἐδόκει γὰρ οὐκ αὐτὸς, κ.τ.λ. 'For he s
not only himself depriving them of their donative
establishing a precedent and an example for suc
perors.'

16. τῶν μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ... κίνημα, 'as opposed
affection in the German army.' The discontent i
not take an acute form until Otho, finding himself d
in his hopes of being adopted by Galba, set himse
the allegiance of the praetorian cohorts.

22. περὶ Γερμανίαν, *i.e.* Germania superior.

22–23. μεγάλων μὲν ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν μάχην. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 8, "Germanici exercitus, quod periculosissimum in tantis viribus, solliciti et irati, superbia recentis victoriae et metu tanquam alias partes fovissent."

24. μηδενὸς δὲ τυγχάνοντες. If Vindex had merely been a supporter of Galba, as the ordinary view represents him, and the German legions had opposed him only on that account, they could of course have expected no reward from Galba. The fact that they did feel themselves wronged by receiving none, proves that in conquering Vindex they were defending the empire against a rebellious enemy. The fact that they did complain is confirmed by Suetonius (*Galb.* 16), "Sed maxime fremebat superioris Germaniae exercitus, fraudari se praemiis navatae adversus Gallos et Vindicem operae."

ἀπαρηγόρητοι, 'beyond the control of.' Conf. Plut. *Vit. Anton.* 6.

25. Αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Φλάκκον, κ.τ.λ. Very closely paralleled by Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 9), "Superior exercitus legatum Hordeonium Flaccum spernebat, senecta ac debilitate pedum invalidum, sine constantia, sine auctoritate; ne quieto quidem milite regimen."

27. πραγμάτων ἄπειρον. The way in which he subsequently allowed himself to be hoodwinked, and then out-generalled by Civilis, quite justifies this description of him.

28. θέας οὔσης = 'spectaculo edito' or 'celebrato.' 'Spectaculum' was often used in the sense of a gladiatorial show or sports in the Amphitheatre. So Martial calls the book of epigrams which deal with this subject 'De Spectaculis libellus.' Sports in an amphitheatre improvised for the occasion no doubt often relieved the monotony of military life on the frontier, and near several of the permanent legionary stations the remains of small but regularly constructed amphitheatres have been discovered: *e.g.* near Rutupiae in Kent: and at Borcovicus, on the wall of Hadrian in Northumberland.

29. λοχαγῶν, probably here centurions.

29–30. τὸ Ῥωμαίοις σύνηθες εὐτυχίαν ἐπευχομένων, κ.τ.λ. That it was the Roman custom in games at the amphitheatre to wish good luck to the emperor, we know from two passages of Suetonius, *Claud.* 7, "praeseditque nonnunquam spectaculis in Caii vicem, adclamante populo, 'Feliciter,' partim 'patruo imperatoris,' partim 'Germanici fratri.'" *Dom.* 13, "Adclamari etiam in amphitheatro epulari die libenter audiit: 'domino et dominae feliciter.'"

82. ἐκείνων, *i.e.* the officers.

εἰ ἄξιος, 'if he deserves it.' Plutarch alone mentions this incident.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. τῶν ὑπὸ Οὐιτελλίῳ ταγμάτων. The MS. reading is Τιγελλίνῳ, but it is clearly wrong. Tigellinus had just been deposed from the praetorian guards and was now in Rome. No doubt the legions of Lower Germany are referred to, who since the death of Fonteius Capito had been under the command of Vitellius: Tac. *Hist.* i. 9, "Inferiores Germaniae legiones diutius sine consulari fuere, donec ... Galbae A. Vitellius aderat." He had reached his province shortly before Dec. 1: Tac. *Hist.* i. 52, "Sub ipsas superioris anni kalendas Decembres Aulus Vitellius inferiorem Germaniam ingressus hiberna legionum cum cura adierat." The news of disaffection in Lower Germany did not arrive so soon as the reports about the legions of Flaccus: *Hist.* i. 14, "Sed Galba post nuntios Germanicae seditionis, quanquam nihil adhuc de Vitellio certum, anxius quonam exercituum vis erumperet," etc. The legions of Lower Germany at this time were I. Germanica, V. Alauda, XV. Primigenia, and XVI. Gallica (Tac. *Hist.* i. 55).

3. παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων. Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 12) mentions by name Pompeius Propinquus, procurator of Belgica, though his letter refers to the mutiny of the Upper army, "Paucis post kalendas Ianuarias diebus Pompei Propinqui procuratoris e Belgica litterae adferuntur, superioris Germaniae legiones rupta sacramenti reverentia imperatorem alium flagitare."

ὁ δὲ φοβηθείς, κ.τ.λ. So Tacitus connects the final resolve to adopt a son and successor with the news of the disaffection of the German legions: *Hist.* i. 12, "Maturavit ea res consilium Galbae iam pridem de adoptione secum et cum proximis agitantis." According to Plutarch, the resolve to adopt some one was taken after the vague reports of the disaffection in the Upper German army, while the selection of Piso only followed the news that Vitellius was actually proclaimed by the Lower army, cap. 23, "οὕτω μὲν ἀνεγορεύθη Οὐιτέλλιος αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν Γερμανίᾳ. Πυθόμενος δὲ τὸν ἐκεῖ νεωτερισμὸν ὁ Γάλβας οὐκέτι τὴν εἰσποίησιν ἀνεβάλλετο." Tacitus, on the other hand, distinctly says that Piso was chosen before any certain intelligence arrived from Vitellius: *Hist.* i. 14, "Quamquam adhuc nihil de Vitellio certum ... quod reme-

dium unicum rebatur, comitia imperii transigit." Suetonius (*Galb.* 16) agrees with Tacitus in making the adoption follow on the news from Upper, not Lower, Germany.

6–8. μὴ μόνον διὰ τὸ γῆρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπαιδίαν, κ.τ.λ. Conf. Suet. *Galb.* 17, "Despectui esse non tam senectam suam quam orbitatem ratus." This is an instance of verbal similarity between Suetonius and Plutarch, which can best be explained by supposing that they used a common authority. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 1, "Materia sermonibus senium et orbitas principis et intemperantia civitatis, donec unus eligatur, multos destinandi."

6–7. διάδοχον ἀνοιδῆσαι τῆς ἀρχῆς. Under the Julio-Claudian dynasty the empire was de facto, though not de iure, hereditary: *Hist.* i. 16, "Sub Tiberio et Gaio et Claudio unius familiae quasi hereditas fuimus." But there was no legal designation of a successor, and still less was the principle of primogeniture recognised. Where the emperor had sons of his own the successor was naturally looked for among them. Where he had no sons his wishes as to a successor were usually expressed by the form of adoption. Thus Augustus, as Tacitus makes Galba say (*Hist.* i. 15), "sororis filium Marcellum, dein generum Agrippam, mox nepotes suos, postremo Tiberium Neronem privignum in proximo sibi fastigio conlocavit"; the adoption actually taking place only in the case of his two grandsons and Tiberius (Suet. *Aug.* 64. 65). Even when the emperor had a son of his own he occasionally preferred an adopted son to be his successor. Thus Claudius by his adoption of Nero, and by markedly bringing him forward into public life, giving him the title of 'princeps iuventutis,' and making him a member of the four great sacerdotal colleges, whatever his intentions may have been, did in effect represent him as his successor. The only novelty in the case of Galba was, as he himself says, "Augustus in domo successorem quaesivit, ego in republica." With the Flavian line comes a short return to hereditary succession; and then under the so-called 'good emperors,' Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, we get the principle of adoption at its best, until the paternal weakness of M. Aurelius once more chose the nearest instead of the fittest. It is to be noticed, however, throughout that the son or adopted son marked out by the previous emperor did not ipso facto on that account become emperor. The title of Imperator, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, etc., had to be conferred by the senate, while the 'tribunicia potestas,' as well as the privileges and prerogatives enjoyed by his predecessors, was conferred by a 'lex de imperio' passed in the comitia, portions

of which in the case of Vespasian have been preserved. Constitutionally, as Mommsen says, "the principate died with the princeps," and it was only the particular circumstances and conditions of the case, among which the wish of the late emperor was usually an important factor, which decided the actual successor, or whether there should be a successor at all.

7. Μάρκος Ὄθων. As in the case of Galba, Plutarch gives us very little information about the earlier history of Otho, while the fact that what little he says is inserted not at the commencement of Otho's biography, but at the first occurrence of his name, is more after the manner of Tacitus the historian than Suetonius the biographer. It must, however, be recollected that in the catalogue of Lampria[illegible]he two narratives are counted as one *βίος*.

The family of M. Salvius Otho be[illegible]ed to Ferentinum in Etruria. His grandfather, an equ[illegible]ved his admission to the senate to the influence of Liv[illegible]ugusta. His father, said to have strongly resembled [illegible] emperor Tiberius in features, passed through the senatorial 'cursus honorum' and became proconsul of Africa. As a reward for the discovery of a plot against the life of Claudius, that emperor, in the words of Suetonius, "adlectum inter patricios conlaudans amplissimis verbis, haec quoque adiecit: 'Vir, quo meliores liberos habere ne opto quidem ...'" Otho, the future emperor, the second of his two sons, was born 32 A.D. After an extravagant and licentious youth, he was introduced into Nero's circle, and became one of his most confidential friends. It was at his house that Nero and Agrippina dined on the day destined for the murder of the latter. The friendship for the emperor was disturbed by the affair of Poppaea Sabina, which Plutarch describes.

7–8. γένει μὲν οὐκ ἀφανής. Conf. Suet. *Oth.* 1, "Familia vetere et honorata."

8. τρυφῇ δὲ καὶ φιληδονίαις, κ.τ.λ. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 13, "Namque Otho pueritiam incuriose, adulescentiam petulanter egerat."

9. ἐν ὀλίγοις Ῥωμαίων, 'as few even of the Romans were.'

9–10. ὡς δὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον Ὅμηρος, κ.τ.λ. 'As Homer often calls Alexander "the fair-haired Helen's lord," assigning from his wife the title to fame which his own qualities lacked, so Otho became the talk of Rome owing to his marriage with Poppaea.' Poppaea Sabina was the daughter of T. Ollius, but she assumed the nomen of her maternal grandfather Poppaeus Sabinus, whom Tacitus describes as "modicus originis, principum amicitia consulatum ac trium-

phale decus adeptus maximisque provinciis per quatuor et viginti annos impositus." She inherited considerable beauty from her mother, had great charm of manner, and intellectual gifts of no mean order. With these qualities there was a complete depravity, and absence of heart, "neque affectui suo aut alieno obnoxia, unde utilitas ostenderetur, illuc libidinem transferebat."

14. Κρισπίνου συνάρχου. Rufrius Crispinus was praefectus praetorii under Claudius. By him Valerius Asiaticus was brought in chains from Baiae to the city. He was rewarded with "sestertium quindecies et insignia praeturae" (Tac. *Ann.* xi. 1 and 4. He was deposed from the praetorium after the conspiracy of Piso, "occasione coniurationis, sed Neroni invisus, quod Poppaeam quondam matrimonio tenuerat" (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 71).

16. τὴν ἰδιωτὴν γυναῖκα. Octavia, the daughter of Claudius, whom he married at the age of 16 (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 58). He soon however began to show a dislike for her, "uxore ab Octavia ... abhorrebat" (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 12), and the respect which he paid to her, such as it was, was due partly to fear of his mother Agrippina, partly to the fact that she was "nomine patris et studiis populi gravis" (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 59). On her subsequent fate see note on cap. 14.

τὴν μητέρα φοβούμενος. Nero, left to himself, would have been completely under the influence of his mother, whose policy often was "ruere ad terrorem et minas" (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 14). It was mainly Poppaea's influence which at last nerved him to carry out her murder (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 1), "diu meditatum scelus non ultra Nero distulit, ... flagrantior in dies amore Poppaeae, quae sibi matrimonium et discidium Octaviae incolumi Agrippina haud sperans ... incusaret principem et pupillum vocaret."

16. ὥφλκε τὸν Ὄθωνα, κ.τ.λ. With this account of the matter both Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 13) and Suetonius (*Oth.* 3) substantially agree. The latter says, "Item Poppaeam Sabinam, tunc adhuc amicam eius, abductam marito, demandatamque interim sibi nuptiarum specie recepit." Tacitus says, "Poppaeam Sabinam, principale scortum, ut apud conscium libidinum, deposuerat, donec Octaviam uxorem amoliretur." In other words Nero's acquaintance and intrigue with Poppaea was earlier than Otho's, and the marriage of the latter was only a cloak; and when Nero suspected him of betraying his trust he was sent off to Lusitania. This was no doubt the account which their common authority gave. It, however, is somewhat improbable in itself, and is corrected by Tacitus

in his later work the *Annals* (xiii. 45) from more accurate information which he had in the meantime received. "Igitur agentem eam in matrimonio Rufri Crispini equitis Romani, ex quo filium genuerat, Otho pellexit iuventa ac luxu, et quia flagrantissimus in amicitia Neronis habebatur. Nec mora quin adulterio matrimonium iungeretur. Otho sive amore incautus, laudare formam elegantiamque uxoris apud principem, sive ut accenderet ac, si eadem femina potirentur, id quoque vinculum potentiam ei adliceret," the result being that Poppaea, after many pretended scruples, deserts Otho for Nero, and Otho "deiicitur familiaritate sueta, post congressu et comitatu, et ad postremum, ne in u be aemulatus ageret, provinciae Lusitaniae praeficitur."

18-17. Φίλῳ καὶ συμβιωτῇ. Suet. 'omnium consiliorum secretorumque particeps': Tac. "consciam libidinum."

18-19. σκωπτόμενος ... ἥχαιρε, 'was amused at being jested with, for ... .'

20. μύρῳ τῶν πολυτελῶν, 'with an expensive kind of ointment.' For this use of the partitive gen. see Madvig. *Gr. Syn.* § 51. a. Conf. Xen. *Symp.* 2. 1, "ὀρχησταὶ τῶν τὰ θαυμαστὰ ὀρχούμενων ἦλθον."

21. πάλιν, 'in return.'

22. δεχόμενος, 'when entertaining.'

23. προβαλών, 'to have let on.'

σωλῆνας, &c., 'pipes pouring out streams of ointment like water.' Nero may not have treated Otho to this expensive luxury, but he had all the apparatus for it in the Aurea domus. Conf. Suet. *Ner.* 31, "Cenationes laqueatae tabulis eburneis versatilibus, ut flores, fistulatis (fitted with pipes), ut unguenta desuper spargerentur." So too it was not unknown in the amphitheatre to sprinkle the spectators by means of pipes with saffron-water and other unguents. Conf. Sen. *Ep.* 90, "Utrum tandem sapientiorem putas, qui invenit quem ad modum in immensam altitudinem crocum latentibus fistulis exprimat?" etc. *Mart.* v. 25, "Hoc, rogo, non melius, quam rubro pulpita nimbo Spargere, et effuso permaduisse croco?"

24. τοῦ δι ἐκείνου ἀντίσου, 'acting on her hopes of the emperor's favour.'

28. οὐκ ἠγάνα μετέχων, &c., 'was not content with only a share of her favour, and resigned his claims to Nero not without resentment.' So Suet. *Oth.* 3, "Nec corruptisse

contentus, adeo dilexit, ut ne rivalem quidem Neronem aequo tulerit animo," where again the verbal similarity is very strong.

29. εἰδὼς αὐτὴς ἀχθεμένης, *s.v.l.*, 'though, on the other hand, Poppaea herself, they say, was not displeased with their rivalry.'

30–31. ἀναπλάσαι τὸν Νέρωνα λόγον. According to Suetonius it was Otho who excluded the emperor, "Creditur certe non modo minus ad arcessendam non recepisse, sed ipsum etiam exclusisse quendam pro foribus adstantem, missentemque frustra minas et preces, ac depositum reposcentem." Plutarch's version, however, is the more probable in itself, and also agrees with the description Tacitus gives in his later version of Poppaea's assumed reluctance to encourage Nero "nuptam esse se dictitans nec posse matrimonium amittere."

32. τῆς ἥττονος ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὸ πλήρωμα, 'wishing to prevent his wearying of her."

34. διὰ τὸ φιλανδρότατον. So Tacitus says of her, "modestiam praeferre et lascivia uti."

36–38. παρέλεγον ἦν, ὅτι ... ἀφέσεως τοῦ Ὄθωνος. Suetonius (*loc. cit.*) says the reason was "ne poena acrior mimum omnem divulgaret," lest a heavier punishment should expose the whole farce. This is not a very good reason, as the story was sure to get about, and the distich quoted by Suetonius proves that it did: "Car Otho mentito sit, quaeritis, exsul honore? Uxoris moechus coeperat esse suae." Tacitus' later version, by representing Otho as the injured party, suggests a better reason.

36–37. τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἀδελφὴν ἀναιτιάτους. See above. Octavia was his sister by adoption as well as his wife.

CHAPTER XX.

1. Σενέκαν δὲ ἰσχὺν εἶναι, *s.v.l.* What authority Plutarch may have for this statement we cannot say. Both Tacitus and Suetonius apparently know nothing of it. It is not, however, unlikely in itself, as Seneca was at the height of his influence at the time, and we know that in the struggle for influence between Poppaea and Agrippina he threw all his weight against the latter.

Lucius Annaeus Seneca, the son of the rhetorician M. Annaeus Seneca of Cordaba in Spain, was born about 3 B.C.

influence.
with Burrus, praefect
responsible for the rul
resisting the attempts
real power in the empi
but when Poppaea app
of intrigue rendered a s
Seneca, if he did not ap
murder of Agrippina to
Nero, however, tired of h
and the suspicion of bel
Piso (65 A.D.) was fatal to

2–3. Λυσιτανῶν στρατη
propraetore provinciae Lus
ἀντιστράτηγος see on cap. 4.
Suet. *Oth.* 3, "Provincian
decem annos, moderatione
Lusitania was an imperial p
rank was a necessary qualifi
possible, though very rare,
matters of this kind. Thus
Caecina was made legate of a le
torius," although this was anotl

3. ἐπὶ τὸν Ὠκεανόν. Lusitan
extending from Cape St. Vincent

3–4. περίοχον ἀνυδρίαν οὐκ ἄχα
i. 13, "comiter administrat
"ubi usque ad civili
sanctorum

8. καταπέμψαι, "for the mint."

τοσοῦτον νόμισμα, 'as he was causing money to be coined.' One of the first steps taken by a new emperor was to issue his own coinage. Thus the two Gordians in Africa, Aemilianus in Illyricum, and several others of the so-called Thirty Tyrants in the third century, all had their coins struck, though none of them reigned longer than a month or two. It is noticeable that a very large number of Galba's coins were struck in Spain. See Cohen, Vol. I., on which account some historians have been led to believe that Galba must have prepared his plans for a pronunciamento some time before Nero's death.

9–10. τῶν ἐλαττόνων ἔπαρξαντα, *κ.τ.λ.* Tacitus says of him that he was "inter praecentes splendidissimus."

12. διδοὺς πεῖραν, 'after actual experience.' Conf. Thuc. i. 138, "γίγνεται παρ' αὐτῷ μέγας ... διὰ τε τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ἀξίωσιν ... μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πείρᾳ δόξαι συνετὸν φαίνεσθαι."

13. καὶ βαδίζοντι, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'and on his journey throughout the whole route he continued for many days together to ride in the same carriage.'

15. Ἐν δὲ τῇ συνοδίᾳ, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'in the course of their association and intercourse by the way.'

16. ἐξεθεράπευσεν, 'he won over.' Conf. Plut. *vit. Solon.* 31.

17. τῶν πρωτείων ὑφιέμενος αὐτῷ, 'by giving up to him the first place.'

17–18. τό γε μετ' ἐκεῖνον δύνασθαι, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'he gained, thanks to his help, secure possession of at any rate the second place in power.'

18–19. Τῷ δὲ ἀνιαρότερον πεφυκέναι. 'But he had an advantage over him, in that he provoked no jealousy.'

19. πρόκα συμπράττων, whereas Vinius is described as himself "λαμβάνων πάντα καὶ πιπράσκων."

τοῖς δεομένοις, 'applicants for favours.' Conf. what Suetonius says of him (*Otk.* 4), "nullo officii aut ambitionis in quemquam genere omisso," and "Cuidam etiam de parte finium cum vicino litiganti, adhibitus arbiter; totum agrum redemit, emancipavitque: ut iam vix ullus esset, qui non sentiret et praedicaret solum successionis imperii dignum."

21. τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς συνελάμβανε. Suet. "nec eo minus alium alia via militum demerebatur," and Tac. *Hist.* i. 22, "studia militum iam pridem spe successionis aut parata facinoris adfectaverat, in itinere, in agmine, in *stationibus*

lax system the em
dependently, though

24. Ἰκελον. See
"venalia cuncta, prae

25. Ἀσιατικόν. T
Plutarch's part. Asia
disgraceful history is tol
after several alternatio
manumitted Asiaticus w
Lower Germany. When
exercitu ut libertum su
donaret, inhonestam adula
ingenii, quod palam abnuer
honoravitque Asiaticum an
artibus ambitiosum," and i
Polyclitos Patrobios et vete
Probably Plutarch inserted
mistake for that of Cornelius
Hist. i. 13 and Suet. *Galb.* 14,
divided the real power between
reigns followed one another so
the reigning favourite. Conf.
Fabios, Icelos, Asiaticos."

26. Ὀσάκις δὲ τὸν Γάλβαν ἐσ
same account in almost the same
Otho as having acted indirectly
Maevius Pudens. Conf. Tac. *Hist.*
militum animis velut faco
proximis Tigellini
pecuniae

στείρα is always the equivalent in Inscriptions for cohors. See also *Acts of the Apostles*, 10. 1, "ἑκατοντάρχην ἀπὸ σπείρης τῆς καλουμένης Ἰταλικῆς."

δῶκε, 'he bribed.' **δεκάζειν**, like *decuriare*, means to divide into companies i.e. of 10 for purposes of bribery. (Conf. Cic. *pro Sest.* 15, "cum vicatim discriberentur, decuriarentur.")

27-28. χρυσοῦν ἑκάστῳ δηναρίων. The aureus was equivalent to 25 denarii or drachmae and 100 sesterces. See Dio Cass. 55. 12, "χρυσοῦν γὰρ ὃν καὶ ἐγὼ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐδωρησάμην ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς ἀνδρὶ ἑκάστῳ ἔφερε." So Suetonius in telling the story (*Otho*, 4) says, "aureos centenos singulis cohortis praetorianae militibus dedisse." i.e. the "congiarium militare" of Tacitus.

28. οἷς τιμῶν αὐτὸν ἔδοκε, &c., 'by which means he was to all appearance honouring the emperor,' i.e. while really undermining his power and seducing the loyalty of the troops i.e. to all outward appearance Otho was giving a donative merely to honour the emperor ("velut pecuniam ingerendo militi" Tac. *loc. cit.*), though the troops understood it perfectly well as a bribe. Tacitus adds that he increased this already excessive 'sportula,' "secretioribus apud singulos praetorianos adeo animosus corruptor ut Cocceio Proculi praetoriano de parte finium cum vicino ambigenti universum ius agri sua pecunia emptum dono dederit."

κατανοούμενος. Conf. Demosth. *Fals. Leg.* 343. 7, Ἐγὼ δὲ βουλομαι τοίνυν ἐπανελθεῖν ὀλίγον τρόπον τινὰ καταμαθεῖν ὑμῖν τὴν προσοῦσαν τούτοις τοῖς θεοῖς ἐχθραν," and Plat. *Rep.* 5.

CHAPTER XXI.

2. τὸν Ὄθωνα παρασῆγεν ὁ Οὐίνιος. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 13 "Hi discordes et rebus minoribus simul coniunctae mixta consilium eligendi successoris in duas factiones vertebant." Vinius pro M. Othone, Laco atque Icelus pro singulis non tam unum aliquem fovebant quam alium."

3-4. ἐπὶ γάμῳ τῆς θυγατρός. Plutarch states this as a fact. Tacitus (*loc. cit.*) only says "et rumoribus nuptiae transmittentium, quia Vinio vidua filia, Galbae Crispo genere ac socer destinabantur." The daughter was Crispina, to whom Tigellinus made an extravagant present at a banquet. See cap. 17 *ad fin.*

5. παῖδα τοῦ Γάλβα καὶ διάδοχον. See *note* on cap. 13.

6-8. Ὁ δὲ Γάλβας ... ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, κ.τ.λ. So Galba says in Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 16), "nunc me decorum hominibus consensus ad imperium vocavit, praeclara indoles tua et amor patriae impulit, ut principatum, ... bello adeptus quiescenti offeram, ... Augustus in domo successorem quaesivit, ego in re publica, non quia propinquos (such as Dolabella) aut socios belli (such as Otho) non habeam: sed neque ipse imperium ambitione cepi," etc. Conf. also Tac. *Hist.* i. 13, "credo et rei publicae curam subisse, frustra a Nerone translatae, si apud Othonem relinquerentur."

9-10. ἀλλοῦ δὲ μηδ' ἂν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴδιοις χρήμασι, κ.τ.λ. 'But he would probably never have chosen Otho to be heir even to his private fortunes merely.'

11. ἀκόλαστον ὄντα καὶ πολυτελῆ, Conf. Suet. *Oth.* 2, "A prima adolescentia prodigus ac profusus."

11-12. πεντακισχιλίων μυριάδων δραχμῶν, i.e. 50 million drachmae or 200 million sesterces. Conf. Suet. *Oth.* 5, "instigante super animi dolorem etiam magnitudine aeris alieni. Neque enim dissimulabat nisi principem, se stare non posse: adhuc referre, hoste in acie, an in foro sub creditoribus moreri." And Tac. *Hist.* i. 21.

12. διδασκαλεῖον. Conf. Plut. *Symp.* i. 2. 10. "Malim scaenicum mihi amicum forte potius quam foro": Liv. 6. 14, "mercenarius spectat asana": Ovid. *Met.* i. 380, "Mersis per aquam reges."

12-13. ἀκούσας τοῦ Οὐίνιος, 'having listened to the suggestion of Vinius.'

13. ὑπερθέσθαι τὴν διάθεσιν, 'be postponed the settlement of the matter.'

14. Ἀνεδείκνυτο δ' αὐτὸν ἔτους καὶ συνάρχοντα, κ.τ.λ. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 11. "hic fuit rerum Romanarum status, cum Servius Galba iterum Titus Vinius consules inchoavere annum sibi ultimum, rei publicae prope supremum."

14. ἀνηρέθης ἦν, κ.τ.λ., 'was fully expected to announce his successor in the beginning of the year. Conf. Hdt. vi. 12, "τοῦτον δὲ ἀνηρέθη τοῦτο τὸ ἔτος γενέσθαι εἶπε."

16. Καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν, κ.τ.λ. 'And the soldiery was eager that Otho should be proclaimed in preference to any one else.'—For Otho's intrigues with the soldiers, see the note on cap. 20 *ad fin.*, and the passages quoted there.

CHAPTER XXII.

1. Καταλαμβάνει δ' αὐτὸν ὅτι μέλλοντα, κ.τ.λ. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 12, "Paucis post kalendas Ianuarias diebus Pompei Propinqui procuratoris e Belgica literae adferuntur, superioris Germaniae legiones rupta sacramenti reverentia imperatorem alium flagitare ... maturavit ea res consilium Galbae iam pridem de adoptione secum et cum proximis agitantis."

3. ἅπαντες οἱ στρατευόμενοι. See cap. 2, where Nymphidius promises in Galba's name to the legionary troops, *τοῖς ἐντὸς στρατευομένοις*, 1250 denarii per man.

3–4. οὐκ ἀποδιδόντα τὴν δωρεάν. Conf. Suet. *Galb.* 16, "fremebat superioris Germaniae exercitus fraudari se praemiis," and Dio Cass. 64. 4, "οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς Γερμανίαις στρατιῶται ... μηδεμίαν εὐεργεσίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γάλβα εὑράμενοι."

4. ἐκεῖνοι, 'those of Upper Germany.'

5–6. ἀνερριμμένον ἀτίμως. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 8, "dux deerat, abducto Verginio per simulationem amicitiae; quem non remitti atque etiam reum esse tanquam suum crimen accipiebant," and see on cap. 10.

6–7. Γαλατῶν τοὺς πολεμήσαντας ... δωρεῶν τυγχάνοντας. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 8, and note on cap. 18.

7–8. ὅσοι δὲ μὴ προσέθεντο ... κολαζομένους. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 8, "proximae tamen Germanicis exercitibus Galliarum civitates non eodem honore habitae, quaedam etiam finibus ademptis pari dolore commoda aliena ac suas iniurias metiebantur," and cap. 53, "Treveri ac Lingones, quasque alias civitates atrocibus edictis aut damno finium Galba perculerat, hibernis legionum propius miscentur; unde seditiosa colloquia et inter paganos corruptior miles, et in Verginium favor cuicumque alii profuturus," and cap. 51, "nec deerat pars Galliarum, quae Rhenum accolit, easdem partes secuta ac tum acerrima instigatrix adversum Galbanios. Conf. also Suet. *Galb.* 12. These Gallic states were probably punished by Galba not so much for their action against Vindex, but for their hesitation in recognising himself, and for their attitude, in common with the German legions, which were too powerful to be punished, towards Verginius. See also Tac. *Hist.* i. 65, "et Galba reditus Lugdunensium occasione irae in fiscum verterat; multus contra in Viennenses honor."

8–9. ᾧ μόνῳ τὸν Γάλβαν χάριν εἰδέναι, 'to whom alone they said Galba showed gratitude, and indeed had honoured him after his death, and adorned his tomb with public offerings, on the ground that he had been declared emperor of the

Romans by his means.' This is given by Plutarch as a rumour current among the discontented German legion was probably reported by the common authority, t Tacitus omits all mention of the report in his account, improbable. Manifestly, if the view of Vindex as a na champion of Gallic independence is the correct one impossible to suppose that Galba would have taken so a step. But even apart from that, Vindex had been o little use to Galba. He had indeed been the first to s to him the assumption of the imperial title, but Gall been too cautious at that time to accept it, and Vi death left Galba still practically a private individual. ever service Vindex may have rendered it was not o a nature as to impose on Galba the necessity of an unusual and sentimental modes of honouring him as a described. The report may very likely have been spr the legati of the Lingones who came to the legions of Germany, and in the language of Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 54 squalorem maestitiamque compositi per principia pe tubernia modo suas iniurias modo vicinarum civi praemia et, ubi pronis militum auribus accipiebantur, exercitus pericula et contumelias conquerentes accen animos." For the acc. and inf. with 'oratio obliq relative clauses, see Madvig, *Gr. Syn.* 169, *a*.

Ianuariarum die dirumpunt imagines Galbae, quarta legio promptius, duoetvicesima cunctanter, mox consensu." In each military camp there was a little temple, where the eagles of the legions, the other standards, and the statue of the reigning emperor were kept. Dio Cass. 40. 18, "ἔστι δὲ νεὼς μικρὸς, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ δεινὸς χρυσοῦς ἵδρυται." Tac. *Ann.* iv. 2, "facili Tiberio et ita prono, ut socium laborum non modo in sermonibus, sed apud patres et populum celebraret, colique per theatra et fora effigies eius interque principia legionum sineret." Suet. *Tib.* 48, "et quaedam munera Syriacis legionibus (largitus est), quod solae nullam Seiani imaginem inter signa coluissent." Tac. *Ann.* xv. 24, "iturum ad signa et effigies principia." Suet. *Calig.* 14, etc. But besides this statue or bust of the emperor, there was attached to the staves of the standards medallions containing the head of the emperor, and these, when an emperor was to be deposed or was no longer recognised, were torn off and thrown down. Tac. *Hist.* i. 41, "vexillarius ... dereptam Galbae imaginem solo adflixit"; iv. 62, "revulsae imperatorum imagines, inhonora signa." Dio Cass. 63. 25, "καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται τὰς μὲν τοῦ Νέρωνος εἰκόνας καθεῖλον."

17-18. ὁμόσαντες ὑπὲρ συγκλήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων. Tac. *Hist.* i. 55, "ac ne reverentiam imperii exuere viderentur, senatus populique Romani obliterata iam nomina sacramento advocabant." and Suet. *Galb.* 16. So Galba had at the first invitation of Vindex declared that he was only legate of the senate and people (cap. 5).

18. διελύθησαν, 'dispersed to their tents.'

19. τοῖς ἡγεμονικοῖς, the 'legati tribunive' of Tacitus.

19-20. παρίστατο δεδοικέναι τὴν ἀναρχίαν ὡς ἀπόστασιν. 'It occurred to the legates and tribunes to be as much afraid of anarchy as of a mutiny.' To pass from Galba to another imperator would be ἀπόστασις: to take the oath to the senate would have a 'nomen speciosum,' or outward appearance of loyalty, but would be practically ἀναρχία.

20. Λέγω δέ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς. Plutarch's account differs here in several particulars from that of Tacitus. In the first place Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 55) says distinctly, "non tamen quisquam in modum contionis aut pro suggestu locutus: neque enim erat adhuc cui imputaretur"; and in the account which follows it is clear that the legions of Upper Germany did nothing more than throw down Galba's statues and take the oath to the senate. So Galba, on hearing of the incident, says "ne tamen territus fueris, si duas legiones in hoc concussi orbis motu nondum quiescunt." The action of those two legions

was reported to Vitellius at Cologne by the aquilifer of the IV. legion. But (*Hist.* i. 56), "id sacramentum inane visum," and accordingly the matter was reported to the legions of Lower Germany, and the alternative put before them of marching against the disaffected legions or creating a fresh imperator, "et minore discrimine sumi principem quam quaeri." On this Fabius Valens (i. 57) "imperatorem Vitellium consalutavit," and "superior exercitus speciosis senatus populique Romani nominibus tertio nonas Ianuarias Vitellio accessit." So that the ...stion of Vitellius did not come at all from the u... Plutarch here represents, but from the legions of ...self, and especially from Fabius Valens. Sueto... ...ther fact not mentioned by Tacitus or Plutarch; that ... ...ops of Upper Germany "legationem ad praetorianos ... ...mandatis destinaverunt, disp...cere imperatorem in His ... factum, eligerent ipsi, ...em cuncti exercitus comprob... " In opposition to this Plutarch represents the suggest... Vitellius as coming first from this officer in the Upper Germa... army. It is impossible to prefer the account of Plutarch to that of Tacitus. He is probably referring here to Caecina, of whom Tacitus says, *Hist.* i. 53, "At in superiore Germania Caecina decorus juventa, corpore ingens, animi immodicus, scito sermone, recto incessu studia militum inlexerat." In giving however an imaginary illustration of his powers of persuasion, Plutarch has fallen into a slight inaccuracy.

21. Τί πάσχομεν. 'what possesses us.'

23. ὥσπερ οὐ Γάλβαν, κ.τ.λ. 'Acting as if it was not Galba that we seek to be free from, but any governor and any government.'

25. σκιὰν ὄντα Γάλβα καὶ εἴδωλον. Tac. *Hist.* i. 56, "Spectator flagitii Hordeonius Flaccus ... non compescere ruentes, non retinere dubios, non cohortari bonos ausus, sed segnis, pavidus et socordia innocens."

26. ἡμέρας δὲ μιᾶς ὁδὸν. Vitellius at the time was at Cologne. The most northerly station of the Upper German legions was Mogontiacum (Maintz), which was more than a day's march distant, though a special messenger could easily convey the news within 24 hours, and, as a matter of fact, the upper legions received the proclamation of Vitellius and imitated it on Jan. 2, "tertio nonas Ianuarias" (*Hist.* i. 57).

Οὐιτέλλιος. Aulus Vitellius was born 15 A.D. Brought up at the court of Tiberius at Capreae, he ingratiated himself with Caligula by his taste for charioteering, and with Claudius by his love of gambling. Nero's favour he won by flattering his skill as citharoedus. (Suet. *Vitell.* 4.) Backed by this

favour, he passed through the usual honours and reached the consulship in 48 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* xi. 23). He was also one of the Arval Brethren (Henzen. *Acta Fr. Arv.* lxxxvii.) and a member of the College of Quindecimviri (Tac. *Hist.* iii. 86, and Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* vi. p. 316). After the consulship he governed Africa for one year as proconsul, and the next year succeeded his brother in the same province as legate of the African army. (See note on cap. 6.) His governorship was marked by 'singularis innocentia' (Suet. *loc. cit.* and Tac. *Hist.* ii. 97). As curator of public works at Rome, also a consular appointment, he was guilty of peculation and dishonesty. By Galba he was sent as legate to succeed Fonteius Capito in Lower Germany, possibly owing to the influence of Vinius, possibly because Galba thought that a man so interested in the pleasures of the table was not likely to give trouble (Suet. *Vitell.* 7). He was well received by the army, "velut dono deum oblatus, ter consulis filius, aetate integra, facili ac prodigo animo." He began by reversing the corrupt and greedy policy of Fonteius (Tac. *Hist.* i. 52). But the legions from the first looked upon him as more than a mere consular legate, and "quod sine modo, sine iudicio donaret sua, largiretur aliena," his very vices were regarded as virtues.

27-28. πατρός τε τιμητοῦ καὶ τρὶς ὑπάτου γενομένου. His father was L. Vitellius, who was consul for the first time in 34 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 28). In the following year Tiberius gave him an extraordinary command in the East, "cunctis quae apud orientem parabantur praefecit" (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 32), from which post he was only recalled by Caligula (Dio Cass. 59. 27). Under Claudius he was in great favour, not, according to Tacitus, to the advantage of his character, "familiaritate Claudii turpe in servitium mutatus exemplar apud posteros adulatorii dedecoris habetur" (Tac. *loc. cit.*). Under this emperor he was consul ordinarius on two more occasions, in 43 A.D. and in 47 A.D., both times with the emperor for his colleague. Suet. *Vitell.* 2, "Mox cum Claudio principe duos insuper ordinarios consulatus censuramque gessit." The censorship he also held with Claudius in 48 A.D. after an interval of 70 years during which the censorship had not been filled. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 4, "Igitur Vitellius, nomine censoris ... ferre crimina in Silanum ..." who accordingly "per edictum Vitelli senatorio ordine movetur, quamquam lecto pridem senatu, lustroque condito." The emperor Vitellius had his father's head stamped on the reverse of some of his coins, with the legend L. Vitellius Cos III. Censor (Eckhel. *Doctr. Num.* vi. p. 313). Tacitus says (*Hist.* iii. 86) that Vitellius owed all to the reputation of his father, "consulatum, sacerdotia, nomen locumque inter primores nulla sua

canctanter." It is possible that Plutarch refers to this fact. As we have seen, the whole scene is probably imaginary.

34–35. *ὡς ... σημαιοφόρος, κ.τ.λ.* Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 56, "Nocte quae kalendas Ianuarias secuta est in coloniam Agrippinensem aquilifer quartae legionis opulenti Vitellio nuntiat quartam et duoetvicesimam legiones proiectis Galbae imaginibus in senatus ac populi Romani verba iurasse."

37–38. *πρῶτος Φάβιος Οὐάλης*, 'promptissimus e legatis Fabius Valens.' Fabius Valens was the legate probably of the legio I. Germanica, or possibly, as Heraeus thinks, of the V. Alaudа. At the head of a vexillatio from his legion he was present in the camp of Verginius Rufus after the defeat of Vindex, and he was the first to make his troops take the oath of allegiance to Galba (Plut. *Galb.* 10), while he seems to have reported to Galba the hesitation which marked the conduct of Verginius (Tac. *Hist.* i. 52). On returning to Lower Germany, the headquarters of his legion, he was instrumental in putting Fonteius Capito to death, and then, not meeting with the recognition and rewards he had expected from the new emperor, he was mainly the cause of the proclamation of Vitellius.

38. *ἡγεμὼν ἑνὸς τάγματος.* See on cap. 10.

39. *μετὰ ἱππέων συχνῶν*, "cum equitibus legionis auxiliariorumque." Tac. *Hist.* i. 57.

40–41. *τὰς μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ἡμέρας ἔδοκει διωθεῖσθαι, κ.τ.λ.* Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 52) reports the argument by which Valens strove to encourage him, and adds, "Quatiebatur his segne ingenium, ut concupisceret magis quam ut sperаret."

41. *διωθεῖσθαι* = to refuse.

ἀναδύεσθαι, 'to shrink from.'

43. *οἴνου διάλειον καὶ τροφῆς μεσημβρινῆς*, 'being filled with wine and (refreshed with) his mid-day repast.' Tacitus does not mention this in connection with his acceptance of the empire, though he says that after his acceptance of it, "fortunam principatus inerti luxu ac prodigis epulis praesumebat, medio diei temulentus et saepina gravis," i. 62. For the habits of Vitellius, see Suet. *Vitell.* 13, "Sed vel praecipue luxuriae saevitiaeque deditus, epulas trifariam semper, interdum quadrifariam dispertiebat: in ientacula et prandia et cenas, commissationesque: facile omnibus sufficiens vomitandi consuetudine."

44. *ὑπακοῦσαι*, 'to give ear to, and so to acquiesce in,' or with a noun instead of a participle 'to comply with.' Conf. Plut. *Galb.* 29, "Γάλβας δὲ κληθεὶς καὶ ὑπακούσας."

Augusti distulit: Caesaris in perpetuum recusavit, *Hist.* ii. 62. In the last crisis of his reign, howeve Caesarem se dici voluit, aspernatus antea, sed t stitione nominis, et quia in metu consilia prudenti rumor iuxta audiuntur." All the usual titles w by the senate, "in senatu cuncta longis alior patibus composita statim decernuntur." The stat he refused the name of Caesar is confirmed by his inscriptions. Thus in the Acts of the Arval Bre styled merely Vitellius Germanicus Imperator; on coins A. Vitellius Imperator Germanicus, while o ones Augustus is added. On a milestone in Sardi 916), and on some Alexandrian coins, the name added, but this is probably to be explained by th these coins were stamped in the province before came that he refused the title.

46–47. τοὺς καλοὺς ἐκείνους ... εἰς σύγκλητον ὅρ is a case of close verbal similarity, clearly not acci Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 57), "speciosis senatus populiq nominibus relictis."

48–49. τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ποιήσειν τὸ προστασσ quotation from the formula of the military sa which is given by Polybius, 6. 21. 2, "Ἡ μὴν πειθ ποιήσειν τὸ προστασσόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων κατὰ δύ

CHAPTER XXIII.

3. οὐκέτι τὴν εἰσποίησιν ἀνεβάλλετο. Conf. Tac.

Suetonius. Tacitus only says (*Hist.* i. 13), speaking of Galba's three chief advisers, "hi discordes et rebus minoribus sibi quisque tendentes circa consilium eligendi successoris in duas factiones scindebantur. Vinius pro M. Othone: Laco atque Icelus consensu non tam unum aliquem fovebant quam alium." There is very little doubt, however, that Plutarch is perfectly correct in his statement, for we know that Dolabella, on account of his noble patrician origin, was an object of jealousy to Galba, to Otho, and to Vitellius in succession. (1) Suetonius (*Galb.* 12) says that Galba sent back to their native country the "Germanorum cohortem, a Caesaribus olim ad custodiam corporis institutam ... quasi Cn. Dolabellae, iuxta cuius hortos tendebat, proniorem." (2) Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 88) tells us that Otho, before setting out against Vitellius, sent away Cornelius Dolabella "in coloniam Aquinatem, neque arta custodia neque obscura, nullum ob crimen, sed vetusto nomine et propinquitate Galbae monstratus." (3) Vitellius ordered him to be put to death, because on Otho's death he ventured back to Rome (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 63). Flavius Sabinus, to whom the order, as praefectus urbis, was given, at first hesitated, but the wife of L. Vitellius urged him "ne periculo principis famam clementiae adfectaret," and finally Sabinus "in alieno discrimine sibi pavens, ne adlevasse videretur, impulit ruentem." No doubt each of the three chief favourites had their supporters among the 'amici.' The majority of these naturally were in favour of Otho, the candidate of Vinius (*τοὺς δὲ πλείστους ὑπὲρ Ὄθωνος*). Laco's candidate was probably Piso. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 14, "Pisonem Licinianum arcessi iubet, seu propria electione sive, ut quidam crediderunt, Lacone instante." Probably, therefore, Dolabella was the candidate of Icelus and his friends. So when Galba says (*Hist.* i. 15) that he has sought for a successor in the republic, "non quia propinquos aut socios belli non habeam," by 'propinquos' he probably refers to Dolabella ("propinquitate Galbae," Tac. *Hist.* i. 88), by 'socios belli' to Otho.

5. *ἀρχαιρεσιάζοντας*, 'canvassing.' Conf. the phrase 'comitia imperii.'

6. *ὧν οὐδέτερον ἐδοκίμαζεν αὐτός.* Of Dolabella we have seen from Suetonius (*Galb.* 12) that he was jealous: Otho he would never have made heir even to his private estates (Plut. *Galb.* cap. 21 *supra*).

μηδὲν προειπών, 'without a word beforehand.' Plutarch evidently takes the view that it was his 'electio propria.' Tacitus disagrees with Plutarch in a very trivial point. Instead of *μηδὲν προειπών*, he says, "pauca praefatus de sua senectute" (i. 14). The inconsistency is only a verbal one.

7–8. Ἥδρυε Κράσσον καὶ Σκριβωνίας ἔγγονον. The father was M. [illegible]inius Crassus Frugi, consul in 27 A.D., and whose cognomen Frugi (attested by Wilm. 854 and 1714) shows that he was originally Calpurnius Piso Frugi, but was adopted into the Licinian gens by M. Licinius Crassus. Scribonia was a grand-daughter, on the mother's side, of Sextus Pompeius, i.e. her mother Pompeia was the daughter of Sextus Pompeius, and C[illegible]e daughter of L. Scribonius Libo, cos. 33 B.C., who [illegible]as the brother of the Scribonia who was the first [illegible]ugustus. Their son, now adopted by Galba, had be[illegible]ed back again into the Calpurnian gens, and accordin[illegible]full name was L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus[illegible]g the usual custom in republican times for an adopted [illegible] to keep his original nomen, modified by -anus, as a [illegible]omen. Thus Cicero's friend Ti. Pomponius Atticus b[illegible]e after his adoption Q. Caecilius Pomponianus Atticus. [illegible]so was born in 39 A.D. Little is known of his previous l[illegible] except that for some time, probably since the death of his [illegible]other Licinius Crassus, killed by Nero, he had been in exile (Tac. *Hist.* i. 48). Conf. also Tac. *Hist.* i. 14, and Suet. *Galb.* 17.

8. οὐκ Νέρων ἀπέκτεινε. They were really killed not by Nero but by Claudius. Seneca, *De Morte Claudi Caesaris*, 11, "Caius Caesar Crassi filium vetuit Magnum vocari; hic Claudius nomen illi reddidit, caput tulit. Occidit in una domo Crassum, Magnum, Scriboniam" (i.e. father, mother, and son). They had three sons beside Piso—(1) Cn. Pompeius Magnus Licinianus, who was killed by Claudius, together with his parents (Seneca, *loc. cit.*, and Tac. *Hist.* i. 48). (2) M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, who was killed by Nero 68 A.D., on the accusation of M. Aquilius Regulus (Plin. *Ep.* i. 53, and Tac. *Hist.* iv. 42). Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 48, "fratres eius Magnum Claudius, Crassum Nero interfecerant." (3) An elder brother, Crassus Scribonianus, who survived Piso (Tac. *Hist.* i. 47), and who was afterwards tempted by Antonius Primus, "ad capessendam rem publicam" (Tac. *Hist.* iv. 39).

8–9. νεανίαν δὲ τῇ πρὸς πάσαν, κ.τ.λ., 'a young man who, in a character naturally prone to every virtue, possessed in a marked degree the qualities of self-restraint and austerity.' Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 14, "vultu, habituque moris antiqui et aestimatione recta severus, deterius interpretantibus tristior habebatur."

10–11. κατέβαινεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. Tacitus reports a speech which Galba is supposed to have made after sending for Piso and before going to the praetorian camp. After the speech (*Hist.* i. 17), "consultatum inde pro rostris an in

senatu an in castris adoptio nuncuparetur: iri in castra placuit: honorificum id militibus fore," etc. Previous adoption into the imperial family had taken place according to the strict legal forms. Thus Augustus "Caium et Lucium adoptavit, domi per aesem et libram emptos a patre Agrippa" (Suet. *Aug.* 64), while he adopted Tiberius "in foro lege curiata" (*id. ib.* 65). Claudius again adopted Nero by means of a "lex curiata" (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 26). Galba, however, dispenses with these strict legal forms, as not binding on the princeps, and the adoption becomes a simple declaration of his intention ('nuncupatio') made in public ('in contione'), "pro contione adoptavit" (Suet. *Galb.* 17). The date of the adoption was Jan. 10, on which day the Arval Brethren sacrificed in honour of the event. Henz. *Acta Fr. Arv.* xci., "isdem consulibus IIII. idus Ianuarias adoptio facta L. Liciniani, magisterio Serv. Galbae imperatoris, Caesaris Augusti, promagistro L. Salvio Othone Titiano, collegi fratrum Arvalium nomine immolatum in Capitolio ob adoptionem Serv. Sulpicii Galbae Caesaris, Iovi bovem marem, Iunoni vaccam," etc. From this it appears that Piso's name after adoption was Servius Sulpicius Galba Caesar.

11. ἀποδείξων Καίσαρα. So Tacitus says that Piso was "quadriduo Caesar."

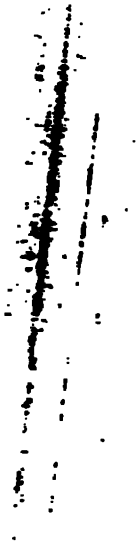
12. διοσημίαι, signs from Zeus, and so portents. Conf. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 171, λέγω δ' ὑμῖν ὅτι διοσημία 'στί, καὶ ῥανὶς βέβληκέ με.

13–14. τὰ μὲν λέγειν, τὰ δὲ ἀναγινώσκειν. The reading of a document (ἀναγινώσκειν) does not agree with what we know of any form of adoption, nor does it correspond with the clear account of Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 18, "apud frequentem militum contionem imperatoria brevitate adoptari a se Pisonem exemplo divi Augusti et more militari, quo vir virum legeret, pronuntiat." Hence Mommsen, with much plausibility, suggests that Plutarch mistook the meaning of the Latin word 'legere,' which he translated by ἀναγινώσκειν, while his λέγειν corresponds with the 'pronuntiare' of the original Latin account.

14–15. ἐβρόντησε καὶ κατήστραψε, κ.τ.λ. Tac. *Hist.* i. 18, "Quartum idus Ianuarias, foedum imbribus diem, tonitrua et fulgura et caelestes minae ultra solitum turbaverant."

17. ὡς κατάδηλον εἶναι, κ.τ.λ. 'So that it was quite clear that heaven neither sanctioned nor approved of the adoption which took place under auspices so unpropitious.'

19. τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπουλα καὶ σκυθρωπά. The behaviour of the soldiers was insincere and sullen. Conf. cap.



32. τὸ δεῖμα, 'his fear,' [illegible]. [illegible] (= δέδοικα); i. 142. [illegible] Eurip. *Iph. in Aul.* 1252. [illegible] Soph. *O. C.* 1664. [illegible] ἀναγκαίως; and see above, on leg. [illegible] ance.'

33–34. οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἄνδρες [illegible] etiam mathematica, [illegible] annuam observatione [illegible]

34. Χαλδαῖοι. The Chaldaei or [illegible] astrologi are described by Tacitus [illegible] hominum potentium [illegible] civitate nostra et vetabuntur semper et retinebuntur.' They [illegible] been expelled by Augustus 33 B.C. [illegible] Tiberius 16 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* [illegible] xii. 52), "De mathematicis [illegible] consultum atrox et [illegible] and by Vitellius 69 A.D. (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 62).

34–35. Πτολεμαῖος [illegible] account here closely corresponds with that of Tacitus (*Ann.* 22), "e quibus Ptolemaeus [illegible] superfuturum eum Neroni [illegible] fides, coniectura [illegible] Othonis competaturum, [illegible] adsciscereturr." A reference is made to Ptolemaeus in Juv. *Sat.* vi. 557 foll., "Praecipua [illegible] exul, Caius amicitia [illegible] obit et formidatus Otho."

36. τεθνήξεται. A future very common in the late Attic writers formed from the stem of the perfect [illegible] is also found in the earlier writers.

37. ἐκεῖνο, his escape from and [illegible] of Nero.

38. ἡδίου μοῖρα τοῦτο ἀπολέσθαι, 'to succumb [illegible] was no reason to give up this hope either.'

39. οὐχ ἥκιστα δέ, 'and not less.' This [illegible] awkwardly after the εἰ τι μέλλοντα [illegible] now passing from the *astrologi* and Χαλδαῖοι to the other [illegible] who influenced Otho.

οἱ συναχθόμενοι κρύφα, κ.τ.λ. Those who secretly [illegible] with him and joined in deploring the [illegible] he was experiencing.

41. τῶν περὶ Τιγελλῖνον. The fact that Otho was supported by the former partizans of Tigellinus and Nymphidius,

though probable in itself, is not directly mentioned by Tacitus, who, however, incidentally confirms the statement, at least so far as Tigellinus is concerned, *Hist.* i. 24, "Flagrantibus iam militum animis velut faces addiderat Maevius Pudens, e proximis Tigellini."

42. ἀπεψηφισμένον τότε, 'who had been disappointed then,' i.e. when Nymphidius failed. Conf. the expression 'spe abjecti.'

τοτενανὰ πράττοντες, 'and were now in an abject condition.' Conf. Plut. *vit. Thes.* 6, and such phrases as *μὴ ἔτι χείρω πράξωσι*, Thuc. vii. 71.

43. ἐφθείροντο πρὸς αὐτὸν, 'r[u]n headlong to his cause.' Conf. Demosth. *contr. Meid.* § [1] ἀλλὰ δεινοί τινές εἰσιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φθείρεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπόρους. This meaning of the word is derived from the imperative use of *φθείρου*, 'go to destruction'; whence to go recklessly, as to destruction.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. Οὐετούριος καὶ Βάρβιος, ὁ μὲν ὀπτίων, κ.τ.λ. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 25, "Sed tum e libertis Onomastum futuro sceleri praefecit, a quo Barbium Proculum tesserarium speculatorum et Veturium optionem eorumdem perductos, ... pretio et promissis onerat, data pecunia ad pertemptandos plurium animos." Both the 'optiones' and 'tesserarii' belonged to the class of soldiers called 'principales,' who in rank stood between the centurions and the common soldiers. Vegetius, 2. 7, says, "Hi sunt milites principales qui privilegiis muniuntur. Reliqui munifices appellantur, quia munere facere coguntur." The 'optiones,' the under-officers of the centuria, Festus, p. 198, "Optio qui nunc dicitur, antea appellabatur accensus. Is adiutor dabatur centurioni a tribuno militum," and "in re militari optio appellatur is, quem decurio aut centurio optat sibi rerum privatarum ministrum." The 'tesserarii' were the officers who in each corps received from the tribune the tessera or watch-word for the night, which it was their duty to make known to the 'maniples' and 'turmae.' A list of inscriptions relating to the optiones and tesserarii is given in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vol. iv. p. 465, etc., by Caver. The optio and tesserarius in question, as we learn from Tacitus, belonged to the speculatores, who formed a special mounted corps in the praetorian guard, under their own officers (conf. Wilm. 1617, "exercitator equitum

speculatorum") and distinct from the rest of the praetorians. (Conf. a military diploma of Vespasian, C. I. L. iii. p. 853, "nomina speculatorum qui in praetorio meo militaverunt, item militum qui in cohortibus novem praetoria," etc.) These speculatores were especially employed in connection with the postal system or 'cursus publicus' (Suet. *Calig.* 44; Tac. *Hist.* ii. 73), and they were in consequence nearer to the person of the emperors than the other praetorians. *Conf.* Suet. *Claud.* 35, "neque convivia inire sanus est nisi ut speculatores cum lanceis circumsteterent"; Tac. *Hist.* ii. 11, "ipsum Othonem comitabantur speculatorum lecta corpora cum ceteris praetoriis cohortibus." As a further proof that the speculatores were a special corps with their own officers may be mentioned two inscriptions from the *Eph. Epigr.* (*loc. cit.*), "L. Munatius Sabinus centurio speculatorum," etc., and "T. Vellius Secundus centurio speculatorum equitum," etc.

2-3. οὔτω γὰρ καλοῦντες οἱ δεσμοφύλακας καὶ δορυφόρους, *c. v. l.* As a definition of speculatores this is partly correct, *tam quam* Plutarch plainly is ignorant of the technical meaning of the word, and gives a definition of speculatores in its ordinary sense. It, however, has nothing to do with the terms 'σπεκτάτορ' and 'tesserarius,' and this makes it quite clear that in Plutarch's authority the word speculatores occurred, as it does in Tacitus, though he has omitted it, while giving a definition of the term.

4. ἀπολείψειν Ὀνήσιμον. See Tac. *loc. cit.*

5. τοῖς δὲ ὄντως διδόναι = 'pretio et promissis onerat.'

6-7. Οἱ γὰρ ἐν ἡμέραις τοσούτοις ἔργον, *c. v. l.*, *i.e.* if they had not been *callosi ad ambitionem*.

7. ἐγκαλοῦντας στρατεύμασιν. Tacitus mentions various motives for disaffection. Some considered themselves suspected 'per beneficia Nymphidii': others were angry at the non-payment of the donative: while "erant quos memoria Neronis ac desiderium prioris licentiae accenderet."

9-10. Ἕκτῃ γὰρ ἐκπεσόντων, *i.e.* on the 6th day from the adoption, Jan. 10: see above on cap. 22.

10. ἣν ἄγουσι Ῥωμαῖοι, 'which, according to the Roman reckoning, is.'

10-11. πρὸ ἕκτων καλανδῶν Φεβρουαρίων. An attempted rendering in Greek of the familiar Latin idiom 'ante diem octavum decimum kalendas Februarias.' *Conf.* Tac. *Hist.* i. 27.

rather than Galba. His statement "a Galba custodiae Pisonis additus" is too explicit to be explained away. Suetonius, too, confirms Tacitus, "Illud mirum admodum fuerit, neque praemeditum, quemquam imperatori auxilium ferre." On the other hand, Dio Cassius follows the version of Plutarch (64. 6).

CHAPTER XI[illegible]II.

1. ἀνακλιθέντος τοῦ φορείου, 'whe[illegible] his litter was overturned.' "Trepidatione ferentium G[illegible]lba proiectus e sella ac provolutus est."

1–2. περὶ τὴν Κουρτίου καλουμένην λίμνην. The lacus Curtius was one of the marshy pools which originally occupied the site of the Roman Forum. They were all of them, however, drained by Tarquinius by means of the 'cloaca maxima' and its tributaries: Liv. i. 38, "Infima urbis loca circa forum alluente interfectas collibus convalles, quia ex planis locis haud facile evehebant aquas, cloacis fastigio in Tiberim datis siccat": and Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* 5. 148. The name was derived from Mettus Curtius, the Sabine leader, who in the battle against Romulus plunged with his horse into the marsh and emerged safe on the other side: Liv. i. 13, "Memorabilem eius paludis ubi primum ex profunda emersus pulchro equum Curtius in vado statuit, Curtium lacum appellatum": Dionys. ii. 43, "οὗτος ὁ τόπος ἀπαείρωται μὲν ὕδατι, καλεῖται δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Κούρτιος λάκκος, ἐν μέσῳ μάλιστα ὢν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀγορᾶς." For another account of the origin of the name see Liv. vii. 6. Under the empire, and probably long previously, it was enclosed with some sort of ornamental structure and had altars in the centre: Suet. *Aug.* 57, "Omnes ordines in lacum Curtii quotannis ex voto pro salute eius stipem iactabant": and Ovid. *Fast.* vi. 403–4, "Curtius ille lacus siccas qui sustinet aras. Nunc solida est tellus, sed lacus ante fuit."

2. λάκκου, though of course from the same root, is not a mere Grecised form of 'lacus.' Conf. Hdt. iv. 195, "οὕτω ἐς τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας ἐν τοῦ λάκκου καταχέουσι." λάκκος, the word used by Dionysius, is probably a mere rendering of 'lacus.'

3. τοὺς θώρακας ἐνδύσας. According to Suetonius, Galba before setting out "loricam induit linteam" (c. 19).

3–4. τὴν σφαγὴν προτείνας, 'holding forward his throat.' σφαγή = (1) slaughter, (2) the part wounded, and so the throat. On the other hand, 'iugulum' = (1) the hollow of the neck or

Palatine Hill, the house overlooking the Circus Maximus. The so-called domus Tiberiana was more at the S.W., looking down on the Velabrum, and must be passed by any one proceeding from the Temple of Apollo to the Forum. Extensive remains of buildings, extending from the west angle of the hill and a little to the N.W. of the present Farnese Gardens, are said to represent this domus Tiberiana. See Middleton, *Ancient Rome*, p. 96.

22. βάδιζεν διὰ ἀγορᾶς, 'by way of the Velabrum,' as Tacitus says. The Velabrum is the long valley running from near the river at the end of the Circus Maximus past the cliff of the Palatine to the lowest point of the Forum. Otho would enter the Forum by the vicus Tuscus, between the Basilica Iulia and the temple of Castor.

22–29. οὗ χρυσοῦς ἑστῆκε κίων. The 'aureum miliarium' was a column, probably cased in tablets of bronzed gilt, and standing at the south end of the curved platform called the Graecostasis at the end of the Forum towards the Capitol. Hence Tacitus describes its position as "sub aedem Saturni," Pliny as "in capite fori." The basis of the column, with brick facing, is still 'in situ.' It was built by Augustus in 29 B.C. Dio Cass. 54. 8, "*τότε δὲ αὐτὸς προστάτης τῶν περὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὁδῶν αἱρεθεὶς καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν μίλιον κεκλημένον ἔστησε.*"

29. ἐς ὃν αἱ τετμημέναι τῆς Ἰταλίας ὁδοί, κ.τ.λ. Conf. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* iii. 9, "Eiusdem spatii mensura currente a miliario in capite Romani fori statuto ad singulas portas quae sunt hodie numero triginta septem." It formed, therefore, a common centre for all the Italian roads leading out of Rome; and on the gilt tablets were probably inscribed the names and distances of the chief towns along these roads. The miles, however, were reckoned along the roads, not from the 'miliarium aureum,' but from the gate at which they left Rome.

αἱ τετμημέναι ὁδοί. Conf. Thuc. ii. 100, "*ὁδοὺς εὐθείας ἔτεμε*," and Hdt. iv. 136, "*οἱ τετμημένων τῶν ὁδῶν.*" So in Lat. 'viam secare.'

CHAPTER XXV.

2–3. μὴ πλείους τριῶν καὶ εἴκοσι γενέσθαι. Tac. *Hist.* i. 27, "ibi tres et viginti speculatores consalutatum imperatorem ac paucitate salutantium trepidum et sellae festinanter impositum strictis mucronibus rapiunt."

3–4. καίτοι οὐ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος μαλακίαν, κ.τ.λ. A very close resemblance to Tacitus, cap. 22, "Non erat Othoni mollis et corpori similis animus." So Suet. *Oth.* 12, "Tanto Othonis animo nequaquam corpus aut habitus competiit."

4. θηλύτητα. Suet. *loc. cit.* "munditiarum paene muliebrium."

διατεθρυμμένος, 'broken down,' 'enervated.' Conf. Plut. *vit. Pomp.* 18; Aeschyl. *Prom.* 891, "τῶν πλούτῳ διαθρυπτομένων"; Plato, *Legg.* 922 c. "ἀνειμένως καὶ διατεθρυμμένως τινα τρόπον ἔχομεν."

5. ἰταμὸς, 'reckless'; derived from root of εἶμι (ἴτης), a common word in Demosthenes and Plutarch.

6. ἄτρεπτος, 'unmoved.' Conf. Plut. *Alcib.* 13. "ἄτρεπτος δὲ πρὸς τὸ καιρῶν ἀκούειν καὶ ἀπαθὴς ὤν." For a commentary on this character of Otho, see the account of his death.

ἀπεδειλίασαν. Conf. Tac. *loc. cit.* "paucitate salutantium trepidum." This is the momentary aorist, "was struck with a momentary panic."

7–8. τὸ φορεῖον ἐκέλευον αἴρεσθαι. Tacitus, "sellae festinanter impositum strictis macronibus rapiunt."

8. παραδεγγομένου πολλάκις, κ.τ.λ., 'repeatedly exclaiming that he was undone, and urging on the litter-bearers.' This is another point peculiar to Plutarch. Suetonius says that, the bearers becoming tired, Otho was compelled to go on foot (*Oth.* 6), "deficientibus lecticariis, quum descendisset, cursumque cepisset, laxato calceo restitit, donec omissa mora succollatus, et a praesente comitatu imperator consalutatus inter faustas adclamationes strictosque gladios ad principia devenit."

10. Ἐξήκουον, 'caught the words.' It is just possible that Plutarch may have heard this circumstance from some eye-witness of the events. Suetonius would hardly have omitted it if he had known of it.

10–11. θαυμάζοντες μᾶλλον ἢ ταραττόμενοι, 'in wonder rather than apprehension.'

12–13. ἀπήντησαν ἕτεροι τοσοῦτοι, 'totidem ferme milites in itinere adgregantur.'

13. κατὰ τρεῖς καὶ τέτταρας, 'in threes and fours.' Suet. *loc. cit.* "obvio quoque non aliter ac si conscius et particeps foret, adhaerente."

14. συνανέστρεφον, 'turned back together.'

16. Τῶν δὲ χιλιάρχων ὁ τὴν φυλακὴν ἔχων, κ.τ.λ. Tac. *Hist.* i. 28, "Stationem in castris habebat Iulius Martialis

tribunus. Is magnitudine subiti sceleris, an corrupta latius castra, et si contra tenderet, exitium metuens, praebuit plerisque suspicionem conscientiae."

17. μὴ συνειδέναι, 'having no knowledge of the conspiracy.' Tacitus implies that this was his opinion too, although most people thought that he was an accomplice.

18–19. ἀφῶν ἀπειλῶν. Here, as in other passages, Plutarch adds that which gives the key to Tacitus' statement, for Tacitus omits to say what he did to be suspected.

21. ἁμαρτιεχόμενος, κ.τ.λ., 'being encompassed by those who knew all about it, and had made a preconcerted plan.'

21–22. καθ' ἕνα καὶ δύο συνερέδην, 'came straggling in singly or in pairs.'

22. ἀντιπαθόντας. Tacitus sums up the situation by saying "isque habitus animorum fuit ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur."

24. παρόντος ἔτι τοῦ θύτου, κ.τ.λ. The words of Tacitus, "sacris intentus fatigabat alieni iam imperii deos," imply that Galba kept on repeating the sacrifice in the hope of obtaining a more favourable omen.

25–26. ὥστε καὶ τοῖς πάνυ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα, κ.τ.λ., 'so that even those who were obstinately incredulous with regard to such manifestations were astounded and filled with wonder at the divine event.' For ἀτενῶς, 'obstinately,' conf. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 729, "Πιθοῦ, πιθοῦ λόγοισι μηδ' ἄφρων γένῃ. Μηδ' ἀτενὴς ἄγαν ἀτεράμων τ' ἀνήρ."

27–28. ὄχλου δὲ πανταχόθεν συρρέοντος. From Tacitus (i. 32) it appears that this crowd was by no means as yet hostile to Galba, "Universa iam plebs Palatium implebat mixtis servitiis et dissono clamore caedem Othonis et coniuratorum exitium poscentium."

31. τοῖς φυλάττουσι τὴν αὐλήν, i.e. to the cohort on duty at the palace. See note on cap. 2. As the rest of the praetorian cohorts in the camp were believed to have joined Otho, the loyalty of that stationed in the palace was naturally suspected. Tacitus (i. 29) explains why Piso rather than Galba went to ascertain their feeling, and gives a speech which he is supposed to have made to them: "Igitur consultantibus placuit pertemptari animum cohortis, quae in Palatio stationem agebat, nec per ipsum Galbam, cuius integra auctoritas maioribus remediis servabatur. Piso pro gradibus domus vocatos in hunc modum adlocutus est." The most effective part of his speech was probably the tardy promise of the long delayed donative. At any rate, with the ex-

With the present passage conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 31, "Missus et Marius Celsus ad electos Illyrici exercitus Vipsania in porticu tendentes," which expresses the fact correctly.

82–88. ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ ναυαρχίδι Βιψανίᾳ. The porticus Vipsania is only mentioned under this name by Plutarch and Tacitus in this passage, but it is probably to be identified with the "porticus Agrippae" mentioned by Horace (*Ep.* i. 6. 26), and built by M. Vipsanius Agrippa to commemorate his naval victories (Dio Cass. 53. 27). This was usually called the porticus Neptuni from its proximity to the temple of Neptune, or porticus Argonautarum from the paintings on its walls representing the adventures of the Argonauts. It was not far from the Pantheon, also built by Agrippa, and the eleven Corinthian columns which are still preserved in the façade of the present Dogana on the west side of the Piazza Colonna are probably a portion of this porticus.

84. Μάρκος Κέλσος. We first meet with him as legate of the legio XV. Apollinaris which in 63 A.D. was sent from Pannonia to Corbulo in the east (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 25). At the present time he was consul designatus, and was present at the council called by Galba to decide on the adoption (*Hist.* i. 14). He remained faithful to Galba till the last, and was with difficulty saved from the rage of the soldiers by Otho (i. 45), who, however, made him one of his generals in the campaign against Vitellius. His promised consulship was confirmed by Vitellius in the months of July and August 70 (i. 77, ii. 60). See Tac. *Hist.* i. 14, 31, 39, 45, 71, 87, 90; ii. 23, 33, 40, 60; Plut. *Galb.* 27; *Oth.* 1. 5. 7. 8. 9. 13.

προσκαλημένους. His reception was not favourable. Tac. i. 31, "Illyrici exercitus electi Celsum infestis pilis proturbant."

Tacitus mentions other precautions taken by Galba which Plutarch passes over in silence. Thus two centurions were sent to summon the German soldiers (see above) from the 'atrium Libertatis,' while three tribunes even proceed to the praetorian camp to stop, if possible, the course of the mutiny there. The 'legio classica' (see above on cap. 15), angry at the slaughter of their comrades on Galba's entry to Rome, at once joined the praetorians (Tac. *Hist.* i. 31).

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. Βουλευομένου δὲ τοῦ Γάλβα προελθεῖν. Suetonius says briefly (c. 19) that in spite of advice to go forth, "nihil amplius quam continere se statuit,' until he was "extractus rumoribus falsis.'

2. Οὐινίου μὲν οὐκ ἐῶντος, Κέλσου δὲ, κ.τ.λ. Tacitus (i. 32) "Interim Galbam duae sententiae distinebant. Titus Vinius manendum intra domum, opponenda servitia, firmandos aditus, non eundum ad iratos censebat; daret malorum paenitentiae, daret bonorum consensui spatium ... Festinandum ceteris videbatur, antequam cresceret invalida adhuc coniuratio paucorum ... non expectandum, ut compositis castris forum invadat et prospectante Galba Capitolium adeat, dum egregius imperator cum fortibus amicis ianua ac limine tenus domum cludit," etc. The reading Κέλσου is almost certainly a mistake for Ἰκέλου, (1) because Tacitus (see below) mentions him along with Laco; and (2) Celsus was still absent on his mission to the Illyrian soldiers.

3. σφοδρότερον τοῦ Οὐινίου καθαπτομένων, 'using violent language against Vinius.' Conf. Tacitus, "repugnantem huic sententiae Vinium Laco minaciter invasit, stimulante Icelo privati odii pertinacia in publicum exitium." Marius Celsus would probably, from what we heard of him in the campaign against Vitellius, have advised the more prudent course. Galba, according to Tacitus, after some delay took the advice of those "speciosiora suadentibus," *i.e.* Laco and Icelus. But Piso was first sent to the camp, apparently with an offer that Vinius should be sacrificed. (This seems the best explanation of "ut infensus Titio Vinio," i. 34.)

4–5. ὡς ἀνῃρημένου τοῦ Ὄθωνος. Tacitus distinguishes more accurately between the first vague reports, and the circumstantial statement of Iulius Atticus. "Vixdum egresso Pisone occisum in castris Othonem vagus primum et incertus rumor: mox, ut in magnis mendaciis, interfuisse se quidam et vidisse adfirmabant, credula fama inter gaudentes et incuriosos. Multi arbitrabantur compositum auctumque rumorem mixtis iam Othonianis, qui ad evocandum Galbam laeta falso vulgaverint."

5–6. μετὰ μικρὸν ὤφθη Ἰούλιος Ἄττικος. According to Tacitus, Galba had already entered his litter and had started when Atticus met him on his way.

6. τῶν οὐκ ἀσήμων ἐν τοῖς δορυφόροις. Tacitus calls him 'speculator.' As we have seen the speculatores were a special

mounted corps among the praetorians, and no doubt ranked higher than the rest.

8. βοῶν ἀνηρτῆσθαι τὸν Καίσαρος πολέμιον. His words, according to Dio Cass. 64. 6, were "θάρσει, αὐτοκράτωρ· Ὅθωνα γὰρ ἀπέκτεινα, καὶ ὅστις σοι δοκῶν ἦν οὐδέν."

9. διαῤῥαγείς, 'having thrust his way.'

12. "Τίς σε" ἔφην "ἐκέλευσε;" Tac. "Et Galba 'commilito,' inquit, 'quis iussit?' insigni animo ad coercendam militarem licentiam, minantibus intrepidus, adversus blandientes incorruptus."

Τοῦ δὲ ὑπῆρέτου, κ.τ.λ. 'But when the man replied that his loyalty had commanded him, and the oath he had taken, and the crowd shouted that he had well said, and applauded, Galba stepped into his litter,' etc. The soldier's answer is not given elsewhere. It looks like a rhetorical flourish added by Plutarch: in any case it greatly weakens the uncompromising attitude of the feeble but brave old man, which the simple words of Tacitus so well bring out.

14. τῷ τε Διὶ θῦσαι. This is not mentioned by Tacitus, but is confirmed by Dio Cassius, 64. 6, "αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ὡς καὶ θύσων, ὥρμησε." The sacrifice would be offered at the temple of Iupiter on the Capitol.

15–16. Ἐμβαλόντος δὲ ὡς τὴν ἀγοράν. 'As he was hurried into the Forum.' ἐμβάλλειν is used of hurried precipitate motion; here, of course, on the part of the bearers, although ἐμβαλόντος is probably in agreement with Γάλβα and not τοῦ φορείου.

16. ὥσπερ τροπαία πνεύματος, 'like a change in the wind.' τροπαία by itself means this, as τροπαία is an adj. fem. from τροπαίος with πνοή, 'understood.'

16–17. ἀνήγγειλε φήμη, κ.τ.λ. According to Tacitus it was Piso returning from the camp who brought this news (c. 39), "Iam exterritus Piso fremitu crebrescentis seditionis et vocibus in urbem usque resonantibus egressum interim Galbam et foro adpropinquantem adsecutus erat."

18–19. τῶν μὲν ἀναστρέφειν, τῶν δὲ προϊέναι, κ.τ.λ., 'some shouting for him to turn back, others to go forward, some to take courage, others to give up in despair.' Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 39, "cum alii in Palatium redire, alii Capitolium petere, plerique rostra occupanda censerent, plures tantum sententiis aliorum contradicerent," etc.

20. καὶ τοῦ φορείου, καθάπερ ἐν κλύδωνι, κ.τ.λ. Tac. "Agebatur huc illuc Galba vario turbae fluctuantis impulsu." The same metaphor evidently suggested by the same source.

21. ἀποκνέοντος, 'turning aside,' *i.e.* from its direct course.

22. πρῶτον ἱππεῖς, *i.e.* the speculatores, who had been the first to join Otho.

22–23. διὰ τῆς Παύλου βασιλικῆς. In 179 B.C. was built on the north-east side of the Forum by the censors, M. Fulvius and M. Aemilius Lepidus, the basilica Aemilia et Fulvia (Liv. 40. 51). The basilica was restored in 55 B.C. by L. Aemilius Paulus, who shortly afterwards in his consulship commenced a new basilica instead of it and probably on the same site (Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 16. 14, and Plut. *vit. Caes.* 29), which was, however, completed and dedicated by Aemilius Lepidus Paulus in 33 B.C.: Dio [illegible]. 49. 42, "καὶ τὴν στοὰν τὴν Παύλου καλουμένην Αἰμίλιος [illegible]ος Παῦλος ἰδίοις τέλεσιν ἐξῳκοδόμησε." It was burnt a[illegible]ain restored in 14 B.C. (Dio Cass. 54. 24); and was ag[illegible] 22 A.D. strengthened and adorned by M. Lepidus, an [illegible]r member of the same family: Tac. *Ann.* iii. 72, "Is[illegible] diebus M. Lepidus a senatu petivit ut basilicam Pauli, Aemilia monumenta propria pecunia firmaret ornaretque." Middleton (p. 154) is no doubt right in placing it on the north-east side of the Forum in opposition to Burn, who thinks it was on the south-east. Soldiers coming from the praetorian camp would enter the Forum from the north-east. In Pliny's time the basilica Pauli was considered one of the three most magnificent buildings in Rome: *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 15, "Nonne inter magnifica basilicam Pauli columnis e Phrygibus mirabilem, forumque divi Augusti et templum Pacis?"

24. ἐκποδὼν ἱστασθαι τὸν ἰδιώτην, 'to make away with the usurper,' lit. 'the private citizen.' Tacitus says, "Igitur milites Romani, quasi Vologesum aut Pacorum avito Arsacidarum solio depulsuri, ac non imperatorem suum inermem et senem trucidare pergerent, ... truces armis, rapidi equis forum irrumpunt"—a passage apparently imitated by Dio Cassius (64. 6), "ἐν μέσῃ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀγορᾷ ἀπαντήσαντες ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοί, ἐνταῦθα τὸν γέροντα, τὸν ἀρχιερέα, τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ... κατέκοψαν."

26. ἐπὶ τὰς στοάς. The basilica Iulia on the south-east of the Forum, extending from the vicus Tuscus up to the temple of Saturn, and the basilica Pauli, already described, on the north-east. The central area of these basilicae was not roofed over, but in the aisles there were galleries ('maeniana'), and it was possible to ascend to the roofs of the aisles, from which a good view would be obtained of the Forum. We hear that Caligula used to amuse himself by throwing money to the crowd "e fastigio basilicae Iuliae" (Suet. *Calig.* 37).

τὰ μετέωρα τῆς ἀγορᾶς, not the high ground of, because it was all level, but the points of vantage in, such as the steps of the temples, the bases of statues, etc.

26–27. ὥσπερ θέαν καταλαμβανόντων, 'as though they were occupying a seat for a spectacle.' Cons. Demosth. *de Cor.* § 23, "ἢ θέαν μὴ καταστήσαι τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὑτοῖς κελεύσαι"; and *contr. Meid.* § 178, "θέαν τινὰ καταλαμβάνοντες."

28. Ἀτείνα Γάλβα προσεδίδοσαν. Atilius Vergilio was the vexillarius of the cohort which was attending Galba, and what he did was to pull off and throw down the medallion of Galba which was affixed to the shaft of the standard: Tac. *Hist.* i. 41, "Vexillarius comitatae Galbam cohortis (Atilium Vergilionem fuisse tradunt) dereptam Galbae imaginem solo adfixit."

29. περιερρήγνυεν τὸ φορεῖον. Tacitus only says, "Destricta adversus dubitantes tela."

31–32. ὃν μόνον ἥλιος ἐπεῖδεν ... ἄξιον, κ.τ.λ. Somewhat less rhetorically, Tacitus says, "Insignem illa die virum Sempronium Densum aetas nostra vidit."

33. Σεμπρώνιος Δῆνσος. There is a slight discrepancy here between Plutarch and Tacitus. The latter says that it was Piso whom Sempronius tried to save: "Centurio is praetoriae cohortis, a Galba custodiae Pisonis additus, stricto pugione occurrens armatis et scelus exprobans ac modo manu modo voce vertendo in se percussores quamquam vulnerato Pisoni effugium dedit."

36. τὸ κλῆμα ᾧ κολάζουσιν, κ.τ.λ. Centurions carried a vine-staff as the ensign of their office: Plin. *Hist. Nat.* 14. 19, "Quid quod inserta castris summam rerum imperiumque continet centurionum in manu vitis?" With this they punished the soldiers when necessary: Tac. *Ann.* i. 23, "Et centurio Lucilius interficitur, cui militaribus facetiis vocabulum—Cedo alteram—indiderant, quia fracta vite in tergo militis alteram clara voce, ac rursus aliam poscebat"; also Juv. viii. 247, "Nodosam post haec frangebat vertice vitem, Si lentus pigra muniret castra dolabra," and xiv. 193, "Vitem posce libello."

39. συμπλεκομένων αὐτῷ, 'as they closed with him.'

41. τὰς ἰγνύας, 'the knee-joints.' Plutarch no doubt found the details omitted by Tacitus in the authority he followed. It is just the sort of episode he would relate in full, whereas for the purposes of Tacitus it was enough just to mention an act of conspicuous bravery. Tacitus, however, is no doubt right in referring the event to the death of Piso

1. ἀποκλιθ
turned.' "T
provolutus est

1–2. περὶ τ
Curtius was on
the site of the
ever, drained by
and its tributarie
aliasque interiec
haud facile evel
ductis siccat"; a
was derived from
the battle against
marsh and emerge
"Monumentum eiu
palude equum Curti
larunt"; Dionys. ii.
καλεῖται δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνου
ὧν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀγορᾶς
the name see Liv. vii
long previously, it was
structure and had altar
ordines in lacum Curt
stipem faciebant"; and
lacus siccas qui sustinet
ante fuit."

2. λάκκον, though of
mere Grecism

throat, (2) slaughter. Conf. Juv. viii. 218, "Sed nec Electrae iugulo se polluit."

4–5. εἰ τοῦτο τῷ ὄντι Ῥωμαίων ἄριστον. Tacitus and Suetonius mention other words variously ascribed to him, though both say that those reported by Plutarch are best attested: Tac. *Hist.* i. 41, "Extremam eius vocem, ut cuique odium aut admiratio fuit, varie prodidere: alii suppliciter interrogasse, quid mali meruisset, et paucos dies exsolvendo donativo deprecatum: plures obtulisse ultro percussoribus iugulum: agerent ac ferirent si ita e re publica videretur." According to Suetonius, he also said "Quid agitis, commilitones? ego vester sum et vos mei."

6. ἐς τὰ σκέλη καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας. Tacitus gives the reason, "Ceteri crura brachiaque (nam pectus tegebatur) foede laniavere."

7–8. Καμούριός τις ἐκ τοῦ πεντεκαιδεκάτου τάγματος. The legio XV. Primigenia was one of those stationed in Lower Germany (Tac. *Hist.* i. 55), but a detachment ('vexillatio') from it had been summoned by Nero for his Caspian expedition and was now in Rome. See Tac. *Hist.* i. 6 (quoted already), 26, 31, etc.

8–9. Ἔνιοι δέ. Tacitus gives the same names, with the exception of Fabius Fabulus, whom he omits (c. 41).

11–12. διὰ τὴν φιλότητα δυσπεριλήπτου οὔσης. This disagreeable detail, judiciously omitted by Tacitus, but no doubt told by the authority, is given with even exaggerated nastiness by Suetonius, "Quoniam capillo prae calvitie arripere non poterat, in gremium abdidit, mox inserto per os pollice ad Othonem detulit."

12–14. ἀλλ' ἀκφανὴ πᾶσι ποιεῖν, κ.τ.λ. κελεύοντων has to be supplied with this from the οὐκ ἐώντων.

15. ἀναπήλαντα (ἀναπάλλω), 'brandishing it about.' The 1st aor. is very rarely used. Homer often has the Ep. 2nd aor. partic. ἀναστηλών, and ἀνεπήλατο is used in Moschus 2. 109, "ἄφαρ δ' ἀνεπήλατο ταύρος."

15–16. πρεσβύτου πρόσωπον ἄρχοντός τε κοσμίου, κ.τ.λ. This evidently comes from the same source as Tacitus i. 40, "Imperatorem suum inermem et senem," and Dio Cass. 64, "τὸν γέροντα, τὸν ἀρχιερέα, τὸν αὐτοκράτορα."

17. ὥσπερ αἱ βάκχαι, 'like Bacchanals.' Plutarch has the participle in the singular, μεταστρεφόμενον, etc., but he implies that the other soldiers accompanied Fabius in his mad career. This outrage to Galba's remains is briefly alluded to by

Tacitus, c. 49, "Caput per lixas calonesque suffixum lacera-tumque."

18. κραδαίνοντα, 'brandishing.'

20–21. τὴν Πείσωνός μοι κεφαλὴν δεῖξατε. Tac. c. 44, "Nullam caedem Otho maiore laetitia excepisse, nullum caput tam insatiabilibus oculis perlustrasse dicitur, seu tum primum levata omni sollicitudine mens vacare gaudio coeperat, seu recordatio m amicitiae in Tito Vinio quamvis inimitem risti confuderat, Pisonis ut inimici et aemul fasque credebat." Otho is also said in the "nominatim in caedem eius ardere."

23. ὑπὸ Μούρ says that two men were sent to kill him: Britannicis cohortibus, nuper a Galba civ tius Murcus speculator."

24. πρὸς τῷ ἱερῷ . . o was concealed by one of the public slaves emp emple of Vesta, but was dragged out and killed "in foribus templi." The temple of Vesta was situated on the south side of the via Sacra, towards the east end of the Forum, and under the Palatine.

24–25. Ἀπεσφάττετο δὲ καὶ Οὐίνιος. Vinius was killed "ante aedem divi Iulii," *i.e.* almost opposite, but a little to the west of, the temple of Vesta.

25. ὁμολογῶν κοινωνὸς γεγονέναι, κ.τ.λ. Tacitus does not put this so positively, though he evidently believes that this was the case. It was doubtful, he says, "consumpseritne vocem eius instans metus, an proclamaverit non esse ab Othone mandatum, ut occideretur. Quod seu finxit formidine seu conscientiam coniurationis confessus est, huc potius eius vita famaque inclinat, ut conscius sceleris fuerit, cuius causa erat." The advice which Vinius gave Galba to remain in the palace hardly supports the view which Tacitus here favours. On the other hand he and Otho had been friends before the adoption of Piso, which was carried out contrary to the wishes of Vinius.

26–27. παρὰ τὴν Ὄθωνος γνώμην. See above, "non esse ab Othone mandatum," etc.

28. καὶ Λάκωνος. Tac. c. 46, "Laco praefectus, tanquam in insulam seponeretur, ab evocato, quem ad caedem eius Otho praemiserat, confossus." Otho was probably uncertain how the praetorians would take the death of their prefect, and so he made a pretence of banishing him, while giving secret orders for his death "

21. ἑπτὰ γὰρ νεκρῶν, κ.τ.λ. 'For when seven had fallen dead, whom we had overtaken with our feet, we were a thousand who had (= claimed to have) slain them.'

οἷς ἁμάρτομεν ποσίν. Conf. Hom. *Il.* xxi. 564, "Μή με μεταλλήξας μάρψῃ ταχέεσσι πόδεσσι."

22. μὴ συνεφαψάμενοι, 'who had no part in.'

24. χεῖρας καὶ ξίφη ... ἐπεδείκνυντο. Tac. c. 44, "certatim ostentantibus cruentas manus, qui occiderant, qui interfuerant, qui vere qui falso ut pulchrum et memorabile facinus iactabant."

25. βιβλία διδόντες, 'presenting petitions.' *βιβλία* is a translation of the Latin 'libellus,' a word constantly used in this sense. Conf. Juv. xiv. 193, "vitem posce libello": Suet. *Aug.* 53, "Promiscuis salutationibus admittebat et plebem, tanta comitate adeuntium desideria excipiens, ut quemdam ioco corripuerit, quod sic sibi libellum porrigere dubitaret, quasi elephanto stipem." The officer in charge of the petitions was styled "a libellis."

25–26. Εἴκοσι γοῦν καὶ ἑκατὸν, κ.τ.λ. So Tacitus, "Plures quam centum viginti libellos praemium exposcentium ob aliquam notabilem illa die operam Vitellius postea invenit, omnesque conquiri et interfici iussit, non honori Galbae, sed tradito principibus more, munimentum ad praesens, in posterum ultionem."

26. ἐκ τῶν γραμματίων, 'from the documents,' *i.e.* the 'libelli' in question, which would be preserved by the 'a libellis' among the emperor's other papers. If the rewards had actually been given, the circumstance would have found its way into the 'commentarii principis,' which contained among other things an account of all rewards and privileges given to individuals.

28. Μάριος Κέλσος. See on cap. 25 *ad fin.* Marius Celsus was with Galba in the Forum, having brought back news of his unfavourable reception by the Illyrian soldiers (Tac. c. 39).

28–29. εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν. See on cap. 14. 1.

40. ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἔπαθε, κ.τ.λ. Tacitus (c. 45) says, "industriae eius innocentiaeque quasi malis artibus infensi." Plutarch is no doubt alluding to his mission to the Illyrian soldiers in the porticus Vipsania mentioned in cap. 25.

41. τοῦ πλήθους. We know from Tacitus that the camp was filled with a mob of senators and people (cap. 45), "Alium crederes senatum, alium populum: ruere cuncti in castra, antelre proximos, certare cum praecurrentibus," etc.

42. φοβούμενος δὲ ἀντιλέγειν, "sed Othoni nondum auctoritas inerat ad prohibendum scelus: iubere iam poterat."

43. εἶναι γὰρ ἃ δεῖ πρότερον ἐκπυθέσθαι. Tacitus gives a somewhat different reason, "Ita simulatione irae vinciri iussum et maiores poenas daturum adfirmans praesenti exitio subtraxit."

CHAPTE[R] III.

1. Εὐθὺς δὲ βουλὴ συνεκαλεῖτ[ο] [as] both consuls, Galba and Vinius, were dead, "vocat[um] tum praetor urbanus" (Tac. c. 47).

1–2. καθάπερ ἄλλοι γεγονότες [though] transformed into different persons.' Conf. Tacit. [ium] crederes senatum."

2. ἢ θεῶν ἄλλων γεγονότων, '[as] — though the gods were changed who heard their oaths.'

3. ὄμνυον ὅρκον, κ.τ.λ. This was the "sacramentum in nomen Othonis" (conf. Tac. *Ann.* i. 8). For the taking of the oath to a new emperor by the senate, see Tac. *Ann.* i. 7. "Sex. Pompeius et Sex. Apuleius consules primi in verba Tiberii Caesaris iuravere, ... mox senatus milesque et populus."

4. Καίσαρα καὶ Σεβαστὸν ἀνηγόρευον. Tacitus (cap. 47), "decernitur Othoni tribunicia potestas et nomen Augusti et omnes principum honores." So too Vitellius (cap. 55), "in senatu cuncta longis aliorum principatibus composita statim decernuntur," and in the case of Vespasian (cap. 80), "solito adsistentes ordine ut legatum salutaturi, imperatorem salutavere: tum ceteri adcurrere: Caesarem et Augustum et omnia principatus vocabula cumulare." In this case the titles would have to be confirmed by the senate afterwards.

The title Augustus implied no special competence or power: Dio Cass. 53. 18, "ἡ τοῦ Αὐγούστου πρόρρησις δύναμιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῖς οἰκείαν προστίθησι, δηλοῖ δ' ἄλλως ... τὴν τοῦ ἀξιώματος λαμπρότητα." It was assumed by Octavianus in the first instance in 27 B.C. at the request of the senate. Vell. Paterc. 2. 91, "cognomen Augusti illi viro Planci sententia consensus universi senatus populique Romani indidit," and Monumentum Ancyranum (6. 16), "senatus consulto Augustus appellatus sum," also Suet. *Aug.* 7. It had certain religious associations, which are brought out even more clearly in the Greek rendering Σεβαστός, and was intended to mark the unique position occupied by the princeps, a position which was subsequently intensified by the development of Caesar-

worship. Dio Cass. 53. 16, "Αὔγουστος, ὅτι καὶ πλέον τι ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ἐν ἐλήφθη."

5–6. ἔτι τῶν νεκρῶν ἀκεφάλων ... ἐρριμμένων. Tac. *Hist.* i. 47, "Otho cruento adhuc foro per stragem iacentium in Capitolium atque inde in Palatium vectus," etc.

5. ἐν ταῖς στρατικαῖς ἐσθῆσιν. This applies to Galba and Vinius, but not to Piso, who had not yet attained to consular rank. The consuls in time of peace wore the praetexta with the purple border: and in war the paludamentum.

7. τὴν μὲν Οὐϊνίου τῇ θυγατρὶ, κ.τ.λ. Tac. cap. 47, "Concedi corpora sepulturae cremarique permisit. Pisonem Verania uxor ac frater Scribonianus, Titum Vinium Crispina filia composuere."

8. διοχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν. Tacitus does not mention the sum, and only says "quaesitis redemptisque capitibus, quae venalia interfectores servaverant."

10. τὴν δὲ Γάλβα τοῖς Πατροβίου δούλοις, κ.τ.λ. Suetonius (cap. 20) says that a freedman of Patrobius bought it for a hundred aurei and threw it on to the spot where Patrobius had been executed by Galba's order. Tacitus says that it was "suffixum laceratumque ante Patrobii tumulum (libertus is Neronis punitus a Galba fuerat)." Most MSS. have καὶ Οὐιτελλίου after Πατροβίου. This, of course, cannot be right. I would suggest that the original reading was τοῦ Νερωνιανοῦ. Conf. Suet. "Patrobii Neroniani."

13–14, ὁ δὲ τόπος Σεσσόριον καλεῖται. There is a place called the Sessorium by Roman topographers close by the church of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, *i.e.* near the Porta Maggiore (also Porta Sessoriana), and on the further side of the Esquiline Hill. This Sessorium was probably a court of justice, and, indeed, we know from a Scholium to Horace (Schol. Cruq. ad Hor. *Epod.* 5. 100) that there was a criminal court on the Esquiline near where criminals and paupers were buried. That there was a place of execution in the campus Esquilinus we know from Suet. *Claud.* 25, "Civitatem Romanam usurpantes in campo Esquilino securi percussit." Tac. *Ann.* ii. 32, "in P. Marcium consules extra portam Esquilinam, cum classicum canere iussissent, more prisco advertere." Conf. Hor. *Epod.* 5. 100, "Post insepulta membra different lupi Et Esquilinae alites." So, too, in the 'Excerpta de Theodorico,' usually appended to Ammianus Marcellinus (c. 65), we have, "Dum haec cognovisset, in palatio, quod appellatur Sessorium, caput eius amputari praecepit." Hence, although the word Sessorium does not

occur in any other author so early as Plutarch, there can be no reasonable doubt that Bekker is right in reading it here instead of the common reading Σηστέρτιον.

14–15. Πρίσκος Ἑλβίδιος. Helvidius Priscus was the son-in-law of Thrasea Paetus. On the death of the latter, Helvidius was banished from Italy (Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 33), but he was restored by Galba. [illegible] "ruina soceri in exilium pulsus, ut Galbae [illegible]diit," etc., to whom therefore he owed a debt o[illegible] which he sought to pay by doing this honour to Ga[illegible]s. The circumstance is not mentioned by Tacitus or [illegible]her authority besides Plutarch, but it was no doubt con[illegible]d in the account which Plutarch and Tacitus both followe

16. Ὥσψε δὲ Ἀργεῖος. Suet. ca[illegible]), "Sero tandem dispensator Argius et hoc et c[illegible]neum in privatis eius hortis Aureliae viae sepultu[illegible]

CHAPTER XXIX.

1–2. μήτε γένει μήτε πλούτῳ. See on caps. 3. 4, and conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 49, "vetus in familia nobilitas, magnae opes."

3. πρωτεύσαντα πάντων. For πρωτεύω with gen. conf. Aeschin. 27. 27, "πρωτεύειν τῶν ῥητόρων," and Isocr. 141. B.

4. πέντε αὐτοκρατόρων ἡγεμονίαις ἐμβιώσαντα. Conf. Tac. cap. 49, "quinque principes prospera fortuna emensus et alieno imperio felicior quam suo." The five would be Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, as Galba was born in 5 B.C. He, of course, did not enter on his cursus honorum under Augustus, though he no doubt even then enjoyed the favour of Livia, which Plutarch (cap. 3) says at a later time gained him the consulship. For the earlier career of Galba see note on cap. 3.

5–6. τῇ δόξῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ δυνάμει. Hispania Tarraconensis was garrisoned only by one legion. Tac. *Hist.* i. 16, "ego cum una legione."

6–7. τῶν συνεπιτιθεμένων τότε τοὺς μὲν οὐδεὶς, κ.τ.λ. An instance of anacolouthon. The subject of καθελών is left without a verb by the turn of the sentence into οὐδεὶς ἠξίωσε, etc. The sentence would become grammatical by changing into καθελόντος αὐτοῦ.

6. τῶν συνεπιτιθεμένων. Verginius and Macer are no doubt the two whom Plutarch has in his mind. Otho, who was also

one of the first to revolt from Nero, did so entirely as a partizan of Galba.

7. τοὺς μὲν οἰκείους ἠξίωσε. So Plutarch says of Macer in cap. 6, "ὄντως ἦν, ἐν τῷ μήτε κατέχειν μήτε ἀφιέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν δύνασθαι περιφερόμενος."

7–8. οἱ δ' ἀπιστοῦντες ἐπῃδέωσαν. Probably an allusion, though not strictly an accurate one, to the conduct of Verginius Rufus, on which see caps. 6 and 10.

8–9. Γάλβας δὲ καὶ κληθεὶς, καὶ ἀναιτίως αὐτοκράτωρ, κ.τ.λ. 'But Galba was both proclaimed emperor and accepted the title, and by furnishing his name to the enterprise of Vindex he changed the character of his rising, as soon as it received the countenance of a leading man, from a mere revolutionary movement, as it was described, into a civil war.'

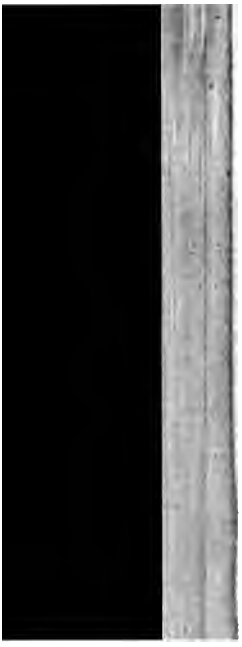
9. ἀναιτίως αὐτοκράτωρ. Conf. cap. 10. "Οὐεργίνιος δὲ Ῥοῦφος ... ὅτι φροντίδα παρεῖχε, μὴ ... ἀναιτίως τοῖς παρακαλοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν."

9–10. τῇ Οὐίνδικος ἐπαρασχὼν ὄνομα τόλμῃ. The expression certainly supports the view that has been taken above of the aims of Vindex, viz., that he only used Galba as a means for furthering his own designs. An interesting coin perhaps throws some light on the question. A. de Barthélemy, *Revue des Questions Historiques*, vol. v. p. 28, describes a silver denarius engraved in a purely Gallic style, with three female heads and the words 'Tres Galliae' on one side, and an equestrian figure of Galba and the words 'SER. GALBA IMP. AUG.' on the other. To put forth such a coin would certainly be an act of usurpation on the part of the concilium of the Gallic provinces. See Giraud, *Les Assemblées Provinciales*, p. 149.

11. τόλεμον ἐμφύλιον. So Appian calls the nine books of his History (xiii.—xxi.) dealing with the civil wars of Rome, 'Ἐμφύλια.'

12–13. οὐχ ἑαυτῷ τὰ πράγματα λαμβάνειν, κ.τ.λ. So he says in his address to Piso (Tac. *Hist.* i. 16), "Si inmensum imperii corpus stare ac librari sine rectore posset, digna eram a quo res publica inciperet." So Nerva declared, "me securitatem omnium quieti meae praetulisse" (Edict of Nerva in Plin. *ad Trai.* 57). Conf Dio Cass. 64. 2, "νομίζων οὐκ εἰληφέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δέδοσθαι ἑαυτὸν."

14–15. ἄρχειν ἠξίου τῶν ὑπὸ Τιγελλίνου, κ.τ.λ. 'He thought it his duty to rule the men who had gone through the training of Tigellinus and Nymphidius in the way in which Scipio and Fabricius and Camillus commanded the Romans of those days.'



animals, pampered and spoiled, and not ready
the discipline of the republican generals. So
with reference to Galba's refusal of any donative
"constat potuisse conciliari animos quantulac
semis liberalitate: nocuit antiquus rigor et nim
cui iam pares non sumus."

16. Σκηπίων. Livy (28. 27-29) put into Scip
highly rhetorical speech to his soldiers in Spain,
sion of a mutiny during his illness. Speak
mutinous and treasonable conduct, he says (c.
"Lapides pluere et fulmina iaci de caelo et in
animalia edere, vos portenta esse putatis: hoc ea
quod nullis hostiis, nullis supplicationibus, sine san
qui tantum facinus ausi sint, expiari possit."
ringleaders were executed, Livy says that tho
present were "adeo torpentes metu, ut non modo
adversus atrocitatem poenae sed ne gemitus q
diretur." Of Scipio's high-handed conduct
citizens an example is given in Livy 38. 50-51.

Φαβρίκιος. C. Fabricius Luscinus, general
Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians, and
Pyrrhus, is often mentioned as a type of primiti
and honesty. As censor he expelled P. Corn
from the senate for possessing 10 pounds of
Livy, *Epit.* 14. Conf. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* 33, cap. 1
qui bellicosos imperatores plusquam pateram
habere ex argento vetabat; videret hinc dona for
in haec frangi. Heu mores, Fabricii nos pudet
Gell. iv. 8.

latum est, ... quam magnum est unum ex omnibus patrio more patria virtute lactari," etc.

17–18. Ὑπερανιτόμενος δὲ τῷ γήρᾳ ἄχρι τῶν ὅπλων, κ.τ.λ. 'But undermined as he was with old age, as far as arms and armies were concerned, he was a strict imperator of the olden type; but because he gave himself up, as Nero did to Vinius and Laco and the most insatiable of his freedmen who gave away everything for money, he left no one behind who regretted his fall from power, though the great majority pitied his death.'

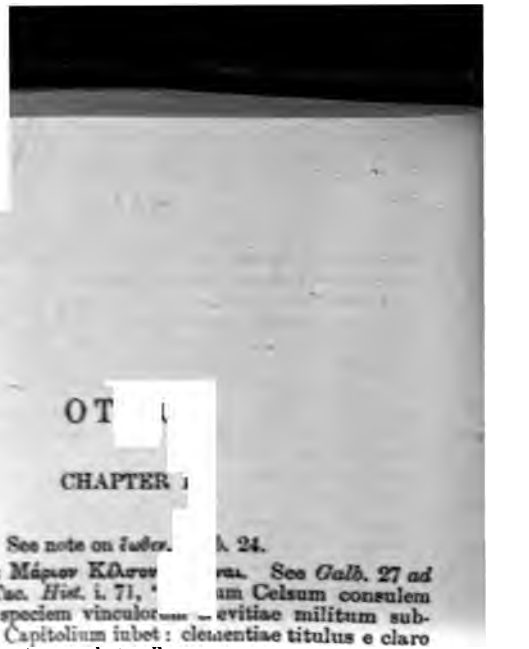
17. ὑπερανιτόμενος (*ὑπ-ερείπω*). Conf. Plut. 2. 72 B.

18–19. ἄκρατος ἦν καὶ ἀρχαῖος. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 5, "Laudata olim et militari fama celebrata severitas eius angebat aspernantes veterem disciplinam."

19. Οὐϊνίῳ δὲ καὶ Λάκωνι, κ.τ.λ. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 49, "Amicorum libertorumque, ubi in bonos incidisset, sine reprehensione patiens, si mali forent usque ad culpam ignarus"; and 37, "Septem a Neronis fine menses sunt et iam plus rapuit Icelus quam quod Polycliti et Vatinii et Tigellini cupierunt." See also *supra*, cap 16 *ad fin.* Conf. Dio Cass. 64. 2, "οἱ ἐξελεύθεροι πάμπολλα ἐπλημμέλουν ὥστε καὶ εἰς ἐκεῖνον αὐτὰ ἀναφέρεσθαι," and "ὅτι ἐκείνοις ἀδικεῖν ἐνέτρεπεν ἢ ὅτι ἠγνόει τὰ γιγνόμενα, οὐ καλῶς ἤκουεν."

22. εἰδένα πεδοῦντα τὴν ἀρχήν. Tacitus sums up his brief character of Galba by saying "maior privato visus, dum privatus fuit, et omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset."

22–23. ἐκτείραντας τὸν θάνατον. So the senate, Suetonius says (cap. 23), "ut primum licitum fuit, statuam ei decreverat, rostratae columnae superstantem in parte fori qua trucidatus est."



OT

CHAPTER

1. ἐφ' ᾧτε. See note on *ἐφ᾽ ᾧτε*. 24.

2–3. κελεύσαι Μάριον Κέλσον ... See *Galb.* 27 *ad fin.*, and conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 71, "... am Celsum consulem designatum per speciem vinculorum ... evitiae militum subtractum accire in Capitolium iubet: clementiae titulus e claro viro et partibus inviso petebatur."

4. τῆς αἰτίας. *Galb.* 27, "πολλῶν αὐτοῦ κατηγορούντων ὅτι ... ἐπὶ τῷ Γάλβᾳ δοκοῦντα."

5. τῆς ἀφέσεως. *Galb.* 27, "ἐκέλευσεν οὖν δήσαντας φυλάττειν," and the passage of Tacitus quoted above. 'He exhorted him to forget the cause of his imprisonment rather than to remember his release.' This seems to be rather a cumbrous way of saying that he was to banish the whole episode from his mind, which would be impossible if he remembered the fact of his release, even though that remembrance might be a grateful one. Conf. what Tacitus says (cap. 71), "Nec Otho quasi ignosceret sed deos testes mutuae reconciliationis adhibens [ne hostes metuerent conciliationis adhibens] statim inter intimos amicos habuit." It seems to me that 'nec quasi ignosceret' and πλέον ἢ τῆς ἀφέσεως μνημονεύειν to some extent explain one another, and are paraphrases of some common expression of the authority followed. Otho did not wish his act to be regarded as an act of pardon, and, as the release from prison would inevitably bear that character, he wished Celsus to forget it.

6–8. ἀλλὰ φήσαντος αὐτὸ τοῦ τρόπου διδόναι τὸ ἔγκλημα πίστιν, κ.τ.λ., 'asserting that the very accusation was a testimonial to his character, since he had been accused of showing himself a faithful follower of Galba to whom he owed no debt of gratitude.' So Tacitus *loc. cit.*, "Celsus constanter servatae erga Galbam fidei crimen confessus exemplum ultro imputavit." This episode is narrated in very similar terms by

Plutarch and Tacitus, but Plutarch clearly did not owe the story to Tacitus, for he gives a somewhat fuller account of the conversation.

9. ὃ χάριν εἰδυῖαν ἔφαλεν. From this it must be inferred that the designation to the consulship was the act of Nero and not of Galba, a matter which the words of Tacitus (cap. 77) leave doubtful, "Ceteri consulatus ex destinatione Neronis aut Galbae mansere, Caelio ac Flavio Sabino in Kal. Iulias, Arrio Antonino et Mario Celso in Septembres." Of course Celsus means that if he had been faithful to Galba to whom he owed nothing, *a fortiori* would he be faithful to Otho to whom he owed his life.

9–10. ἠγάσθησαν οἱ παρόντες. Tacitus says, "Laeta primoribus civitatis, celebrata in vulgus Celsi salus ne militibus quidem ingrata fuit."

11. πολλὰ δημοτικά. It was a usual thing for a new emperor to begin his reign with a great pretence of doing honour to the senate. Otho had a particularly difficult course to steer. On the one hand he desired to give his position the constitutional appearance of senatorial approval, and on the other to retain the indispensable support of the turbulent praetorians, who had an insane jealousy of the senate, and a deep-seated suspicion of its supposed aims. The climax of the difficulty involved in these inconsistent aims is perhaps shown in the incidents connected with the mutiny of the cohort from Ostia.

12–13. ὃν μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπατείαν χρόνον ἤμελλε. It was the usual thing for a new emperor to be consul ordinarius for the first four months of the first year of his reign. Thus Claudius was consul ordinarius in 42 A.D.; Nero in 55 A.D (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 11); Galba in 69. Conf. Plin. *Paneg.* 57, "Consulatum recusasti, quem novi imperatores alii destinatum aliis in se transferebant." In the present year Galba and Vinius were to have been consuls till the end of April. On their death Otho and his brother Titianus took their place, but only till the end of February, the last two months of their time being given to Verginius Rufus and Pompeius Vopiscus. See Tac. *Hist.* i. 77, "Consul cum Titiano fratre in kalendas Martias ipse: proximos menses Verginio destinat ut aliquod exercitui Germanico delenimentum: iungitur Verginio Pompeius Vopiscus praetexto veteris amiciti..e: plerique Viennensium honori datum interpretabantur."

14–15. τοῖς δὲ ἀνοδευσαμένοις ὑπὸ Νέρωνος ἢ Γάλβα, κ.τ.λ., identical almost verbatim with Tacitus *ad loc. cit.* See note on line 9. Up to the time of Nero the emperor used to

…y used his right of commendatio in
…anship. The present passage proves
…ointed the consuls himself, and this
…the consules ordinarii being named
…ules suffecti for the year on Jan. 9,
occasionally promised longer in advan
16. "Ἐφεστῶτας δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἡλικίαν
…th a little more detail (c. 77), "Sed
…asque honoratis (i.e. honoribus func
…n dignitatis addidit." The pontificat
…to the four maiora collegia of sacerd
…Quindecimviri and the Septemviri
…. "τοὺς τέτταρας ἱερουργοὺς ... λεγὼ δὲ
…ους σωφρονεῖν, τοὺς τε ἕπτα καὶ τοὺς πεντε
Up to 105 B.C. vacancies in these
cooptatio of the collegia themselves,
…scitum was carried by one of the tr
…benobarbus, according to which th
…list of candidates out of which 17
…y lot (the comitia of the septemdeci
…n, and the person thus elected by the s
…ally coopted by the collegium: Cic.
Hoc idem de ceteris sacerdotiis Cn. D
…ulit ut minor pars populi vocaretur,
…actus, is a collegio cooptaretur"; also
…mber of the collegium could nomina
…*Ad.* xiii. 5. 12. So Verginius Rufus
very year till his death: Plin. *Ep.* ii.
…rdotes solent nominare, quos sacerd
…me semper nominabat." But not m
…ate the same person: Cic. *Phil.* ii. 2.
collegio expetitum Cn. Pompeius et
…nt, nec enim licebat a pluribus nom
…ire three changes took place, (1) afte
…ed from the seventeen tribes to the
…ction to the civil magistracies (Tac.
…gia instead of nominating a list on
did so on a fixed day every year
) the emperor had a right of com-
as for the other magistracies, that
…rtain candidates to the senate who
elected by that body. So Tac.
…senatui fuit Vitellio atque Vera-
…quendi"; Suet. *Claud.* 22, "In
…lotibus, neminem nisi iuratus
…aest. Rom.* 99. Only mem
…ible to these majo

and as a rule they were given, as here, to men who had passed through all or almost all of the ordinary honores ('honoratis iam senibus'). Thus Agricola after his consulship "statim Britanniae praepositus est, adiecto pontificatus sacerdotio" (Tac. *Agric.* 9). Also C. Calpetanus Rantius (cos. 71) was successively praetor, consul, curator alvei Tiberis, pontifex, and legatus Augusti propraetore Pannoniae (Wilmanns, 1147). Pliny, too, received an augurship from Trajan after his consulship (Plin. *ad Trai.* 12 and iv. 8). There are, however, a good many instances of men receiving a sacerdotium between the quaestorship and the praetorship, *e.g.* M. Claudius Marcellus (Tac. *Ann.* i. 3), M. Scribonius Libo (conf. Suet. *Tib.* 25 with Tac. *Ann.* ii. 27-32), and between the praetorship and consulship (C.I.L. x, 4635, vi. 1035, etc.). Only members of the imperial family could be members of more than one of these sacerdotia at the same time. See Habel, *de Pontificum Rom. conditione publica*, pp. 75 foll.; Marquardt *Staatsv.* iii. 397 foll.; Mommsen, *Staatsr.* ii. 28 foll.

17. **Τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος φυγοῦσι**, κ.τ.λ. Tacitus seems to distinguish between two classes—(1) "Recens (*i.e.* ἐπὶ Γάλβα) ab exilio reversos nobiles adolescentulos avitis ac paternis sacerdotiis in solacium recoluit. (2) Redditus Cadio Rufo, Pedio Blaeso, Scaevino Prisco senatorius locus: repetundarum criminibus sub Claudio ac Nerone cecideranl." Cadius Rufus had been convicted of repetundae as proconsul of Bithynia under Claudius (*Ann.* xii. 22). Pedius Blaesus was found guilty of the same charge under Nero as proconsul of Crete and Cyrene (*Ann.* xiv. 18). The recall of this latter class was hardly an act of justice, though doubtless popular with the senate. If, as was often the case in trials for repetundae, they had been 'deportati in insulas,' their property would have been confiscated. Plutarch makes no distinction between these two classes, but probably is referring more especially to the former.

18. **ὅσα μὴ πεπραμένα**. He avoided the unpopularity caused by Galba's exaction of the property in similar cases from the purchasers (*Galb.* 16).

19-20. **Ὅθεν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ κράτιστοι**, κ.τ.λ., 'whence the highest and most respectable men in the city, who had been in terror at first thinking that it was no mere man, but some embodied vengeance or deity of retribution who had suddenly rushed to the head of affairs, became more cheerfully disposed by reason of their newly conceived hopes towards the government now that it put on this smiling face.'

20-21. **πεφρικότες πρότερον, ὡς οὐκ ἀνθρώπῳ**, κ.τ.λ. Plutarch has no doubt given the rein here somewhat to his Greek

imagination. We cannot suppose that his Latin authority wrote anything about an avenging deity, etc. Possibly what he did write is reflected more or less closely in Tac. *Hist.* i. 30. "Tum duae omnium mortalium inpulicitia ignavia luxuria deterrimae velut ad perdendum imperium *fataliter electae* non senatus modo et equus ... sed vulgus quoque palam maerere."

21. Ἔλαττα, personified in Eur[illegible] *I. T.* 200, "ἔσθ' ὅτῳ τῶν τυχόντα ξυνδέσωμεν Ταυροκτόνῳ δεῖπ[illegible] καὶ τὸ σῶσαι."

21-22. τελαμῶνα δαίμονος. [illegible]d. Eurip. *I. T.* 1218, "οὐ τελαμῶνα λήψε;" and Xen[illegible]p. 8. 7. 18.

22. ἡδέως ἀγόμενα. Tacitus [illegible]t represent the feelings quite in the same light (c. 71), "[illegible] voluptates dissimulata luxuria et omnia ad decorem [illegible] composita; eoque plus formidinis adhibebant falsae vi[illegible] vitia reditura." So Dio Cass. (64. 8) says still more [illegible]dly "οἱ μὲν καὶ οἰκειώτατοι αὐτῷ ὄντες καὶ ἡδέως [illegible]ἀσιν αὐτῷ· ὅ τε βίος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἄκρα ... πᾶσι πάντας ἐξηγοῦντο." The fact, too, that Otho took a number of senators with him on his march does not look as if he had any great confidence in their fidelity.

CHAPTER II.

2. πρὸν ἐξοῦλαι αὐτόν. Tac. *Hist.* i. 72. "Par inde exsultatio laetantibus causis consecuta impetrato Tigellini exitio." Cass. [illegible] 17, "ὁ δὲ δῆμος πᾶν εἶδος ἐκμανίας ἐφοβεῖτο ὁ Τιγελλῖνος ἵνα μὴ ἐκφύγῃ."

3. Ἐλελήθει μὲν γὰρ ἤδη κολαζόμενος. "For he was already punished, though not in public."

4–5. οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς [illegible] ὁδοὺς. Cass. 17 and Tac. c. 72, "Concurrere ex tota urbe in Palatium ac fora, et ubi plurima vulgi licentia in circum ac theatra effusi seditiosis vocibus [illegible]." etc.

5. τοιαῦτα ἀνηκούστως. Cass. 17, "τὸ φθονεῖσθαι νόσου ἀνιατοτάτου."

10. οἱ μετριοπαθοῦντες. Plutarch is indulging here in a little [illegible] as he did about the fate of Verginius Rufus (*Galb.* 20 *fin.*). The οἱ μετριοπαθοῦντες (moderate-minded men) are here merely an ideal class. Tacitus' account shows plainly that there was no one in the city from highest to lowest who would have been content with this natural retribution, or with anything short of Tigellinus' death.

11. τὸν ἥλιον ἰδεῖν. Conf. Eurip. *Alcest.* 394, "οὐκέτ' ἄντα κῶ' ἁλιῶ"

13. εἰς τοὺς περὶ Σινόεσσαν ἀγρούς, 'to his estate near Sinuessa.' Tigellinus had chosen this retreat partly on account of the healing waters there ("apud Sinuessanas aquas," Tac. c. 72). Conf. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 66, "In tanta mole curarum valetudine adversa corripitur, refovendisque viribus mollitia caeli et salubritate aquarum Sinuessam pergit," partly on account of its nearness to the sea and the consequent facilities for escape. Sinuessa was on the borders of Latium and Campania.

14. πλοίων παραπομπόντων. Sinuessa was on the coast just north of the town of Vulturnum.

16. παρέντας, 'to let him escape.'

17–18. ἔδοξε δὲ ἐνταῦθα, ἵνα, κ.τ.λ. Plutarch adds several details to the brief account of Tacitus, "accepto apud Sinuessanas aquas supremae necessitatis nuntio inter stupra concubinarum et oscula et deformes moras sectis novacula faucibus infamem vitam foedavit etiam exitu sero et inhonesto."

CHAPTER III.

2. ἰδίας ἔχθρας οὐδενὶ ἐμνησικάκησεν. For the construction of *μνησικακεῖν* with dat. of the pers. and gen. of the thing, see Thuc. 8. 73. Tacitus (i. 47) says: "omisisset offensas an distulisset, brevitate imperii in incerto fuit."

3–4. οὐκ ἔφευγε ... προσαγορεύεσθαι, 'showed no reluctance to be saluted as.' Conf. *Galb.* 9, "*οὐκ ἔφευγε Γάϊου Καίσαρος υἱὸς λέγεσθαι.*" Tacitus says (c. 78), "atque etiam Othoni quibusdam diebus populus et miles, tamquam nobilitatem et decus adstruerent, Neroni Othoni adclamavit. Ipse in suspenso tenuit vetandi metu vel agnoscendi pudore." Suetonius (*Oth.* 7) goes further, "Ac super ceteras gratulantium adulantiumque blanditias, ab infima plebe appellatus Nero, nullum indicium recusantis dedit: immo, ut quidam tradiderunt, etiam diplomatibus primisque epistulis suis ad quosdam provinciarum praesides Neronis cognomen adiecit."

5. τινων εἰκόνας Νέρωνος εἰς τοὐμφανὲς, κ.τ.λ. Tacitus almost in the same words says, "fuere qui imagines Neronis proponerent," but he adds, "creditus est etiam de celebranda Neronis memoria agitavisse spe vulgus adliciendi."

6. Κλοίβιος Ῥοῦφος. Of the earlier career of Cluvius Rufus we know nothing, but he apparently reached the consulship under Caligula, since he is mentioned as a consularis in

connection with that emperor's death (Ioseph. *Ant. Iud.* 19. 1. 13). He accompanied Nero during his theatrical tour in Greece: Suet. *Ner.* 21, "Nioben se cantaturum per Cluvium Rufum consularem pronuntiavit," and Dio Cass. 63. 14. He was a man of wealth and eloquence (Tac. *Hist.* iv. 43), "igitur a laude Cluvii Rufi orsus, qui perinde dives et eloquentia clarus nulli umquam sub Nerone periculum facessisset." He was appointed by Galba to be his successor as Governor of Hispania Tarraconensis (Tac. *Hist.* i. 8), "e provinciis Hispaniae praerat Cluvius Rufus, vir facundus et pacis artibus, bellis inexpertus"; also i. 76, ii. 58. He left his province and joined Vitellius on his march to Italy on the pretext of conveying his congratulations, but in reality to disarm the suspicion that he was himself aiming at the supreme power, since it had been reported to Vitellius that he had attempted to gain possession of the Spanish provinces, and had intentionally refrained from attaching the name of any emperor to his diplomata for the 'cursus publicus.' He remained in the emperor's retinue, governing Spain in his absence by means of his legate. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 65. See also Tac. *Hist.* iv. 39, "citeriorem Hispaniam ostentans discessu Cluvii Rufi vacuam," and he was present at the interview between Vitellius and Flavius Sabinus (*Hist.* iii. 65), "verba vocesque duos testes habebant, Cluvium Rufum et Silium Italicum." The present passage, with its reference to Spain, is sufficient to identify Cluvius Rufus with the Cluvius whom Tacitus twice cites as an authority in the *Annals*, xiii. 20, "Plinius et Cluvius nihil dubitatum de fide praefecti referunt," and xiv. 2, "Tradit Cluvius," etc. The mention of his name here by no means implies that he was the main authority used by Plutarch in these Lives, as Mommsen argues, but rather the contrary. On this point see Introduction, p. xlix–l.

6-7. εἰς Ἰβηρίαν κομισθῆναι διπλώματα. Suetonius mentions the same fact, no doubt on the same authority as Plutarch, though he says "ut quidam tradiderunt," and does not confine the circumstance to Spain ("ad quosdam provinciarum praesides"). See the passage quoted above.

7-8. οἷς ἐκπέμπουσι τοὺς γραμματηφόρους. Conf. *Galb.* 8, "ἃ γνωρίζοντες οἱ κατὰ πόλιν ἄρχοντες ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὀχημάτων ἀμοιβαῖς ἐπιταχύνουσι τοὺς γραμματηφόρους," and note *ad loc.*

9. θετὸν ὄνομα = cognomen. The MS. reading is θεῖον.

10. τοὺς πρώτους καὶ κρατίστους. See cap. 1 *ad fin.*

12. Τοιαύτην δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, κ.τ.λ. 'When his government assumed this character,' *i.e.* of conciliation to the senate.

12. οἱ μισθοφόροι. Plutarch means the praetorian cohorts, though μισθοφόροι is not a very appropriate name for them. No doubt the connection in Plutarch's mind is this; the δορυφόροι, or bodyguard, with which the Greek tyrants surrounded themselves, were always mercenary soldiers, brought in to protect the tyrant against the citizens, and Plutarch in speaking of the imperial body-guard is led by the association to use this inappropriate term.

13-14. χαλεπὸὺς παρέχον ἑαυτούς. 'Showed themselves displeased,' *i.e.* at the favour shown to the senatorial order, etc.

14. ἑαυτοῦ παραιτεῖσθαι, 'bidding him to be more suspicious and on his guard, and to put down the men of eminence.'

16. δι' εὔνοιαν, 'through their affection for him.' Suetonius says also in reference to the episode which Plutarch is about to narrate (*Oth.* 8), "animum fidemque praetorianorum erga se paene internecione amplissimi ordinis expertus est."

17. Κρισπῖνον. Varius Crispinus was a "tribunus e praetorianis" (Tac. *Hist.* i. 80).

18-19. τὴν ἑπτακαιδεκάτην σπεῖραν Ὄστιαν ἀπάξοντα, κ.τ.λ. There are several difficulties involved in this military riot. It will be better to give the account of Tacitus and Suetonius. Tacitus (c. 80) says, "septumam decumam cohortem e colonia Ostiensi in urbem acciri Otho iusserat; armandae eius curae Vario Crispino tribuno e praetorianis data. Is quo magis vacuus quietis castris iussa exsequeretur, vehicula cohortis incipiente nocte onerari aperto armamentario iubet. Tempus in suspicionem, causa in crimen, adfectatio quietis in tumultum evaluit; et visa inter temulentos arma cupidinem sui movere. Fremit miles et tribunos centurionesque proditionis arguit, tamquam familiae senatorum ad perniciem Othonis armarentur, pars ignari et vino graves, pessimus quisque in occasionem praedarum, vulgus, ut mos est, cuiuscumque motus novi cupidum; et obsequia meliorum nox abstulerat. Resistentem seditioni tribunum et severissimos centurionum obtruncant, rapta arma, nudati gladii, insidentes equis urbem et Palatium petunt." Suetonius merely has (*Oth.* 8) "et placuerat per classiarios arma transferri, remittique navibus. Ea quum in castris sub noctem promerentur, insidias quidam suspicati, tumultum excitaverunt: ac repente omnes, nullo certo duce, in Palatium cucurrerunt, caedem senatus flagitantes." From the short and obscure account of Suetonius only two facts are clear, that the mutiny was occasioned by some transfer of troops and the production of arms

it would be unlikely that there should be e
camp or an armoury at Ostia. (4) The loading
only began 'incipiente nocte'; then followed
the murder of the officers, and not till then th
city. If they had had to traverse the 14 miles
and Rome, they would hardly have arrive
banquet was still going on. Then the questio
cohort this was, and what the 'cura armandae
Suetonius certainly, and apparently Plutarch,
praetorian cohort. This, however, is impos
praetorian cohorts were never stationed anyw
Rome. (2) There were normally only nine pra
certainly at this time not more than twelve, an
and Tacitus call this the seventeenth. (3) Th
Crispinus as *e praetorianis* certainly implies
he was sent to was not praetorian. (4) The pr
would have no need to be armed, as their duties
to be always under arms. In all probability thi
'cohortes urbanae,' on the number of which
thrown some fresh light from recently fou
(*Hermes*, xvi. p. 643 *foll.*). Under Tiberius there
torian and three urban cohorts (Tac. *Ann.* iv.
numbered I.-IX., the latter X.-XII., while
cohort numbered XIII. was stationed at Lugd
41). But under Caligula or Claudius the num
both praetorian and urban, seems from inscr
been increased. Thus we find the former n
XII., while of the latter we have evidence of
(C. I. L. x. 7803), of a XVI. coh. urb. in th

above), and from there transferred to Ostia. In all probability Otho sent for this cohort from Ostia in order to enrol it among the praetorians, in whom his main reliance was placed, and the mission of Crispinus (cura armandae eius) was to equip it according to its new rank, which would, of course, be done in the praetorian camp. This policy of increasing the praetorian cohorts at the expense of the urban seems to have been continued by Vitellius, since Tacitus says (*Hist.* ii. 93), "sedecim praetoriae, quattuor urbanae cohortes scribebantur." That the disturbance caused by this event was not confined to the one cohort, but spread through the whole praetorian camp, is clear from the account given by both Plutarch and Tacitus.

19. Ὄστίας. Ostia in Latin is almost always declined as a singular word, though Livy has occasionally Ostia, gen. -orum.

20. συσκευαζομένου, 'packing up.' Conf. Thuc. 7. 14.

22–23. τὴν στάλψιν ἰσχυρᾶν, *s.t.λ.*, 'that the senate was plotting a revolution.' Conf. Tac., "Tamquam familiae senatorum ad perniciem Othonis armarentur."

23–24. κατὰ Καίσαρος οὐ Καίσαρι, 'against Caesar and not for him.'

24. παρακομίζεσθαι. Notice change of subject from τὴν στάλψιν to αὐτοῖ.

25. ἀντομένου, 'reached.'

27. ἑκατοντάρχας δύο, a more definite statement than that of Tacitus, who only says "severissimos centurionum."

28. διασκευασάμενοι, 'having armed themselves.' Conf. Xen. *Hell.* 4. 2. 19, "καὶ εὐθὺς ἀντιπαρήγγειλαν διασκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς μάχην."

29–30. ἔλαυνον δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην. See above. The words of Tacitus, "urbem petunt," are quite consistent with the mutiny taking place in the praetorian camp, which was outside the city.

31. ἡγεμόνευτα συγκλητικοῖς. Tac., less definitely, "Erat Othoni celebre convivium primoribus feminis virisque."

πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια, 'the Palatium.'

32–33. πάντας ἀνεῖλεν τοὺς Καίσαρος πολεμίους. Tac. c. 83, "Undique arma et minae modo in centuriones tribunosque modo in senatum universum, lymphatis caeco pavore animis, et quia neminem unum destinare irae poterant, licentiam in omnes poscentibus."

34. ὡς αὐτίκα διαφθαγησομένη = "prope urbi excidio fuit" (Tac. c. 80).

36–37. Φοβ ίμενος γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτὸς ἦν φοβερός. A striking instance of exact verbal agreement with Tacitus (c. 81), "Cum timeret Otho, timebatur."

38. πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνηρτημένους ... ταῖς ὄψεσιν = "simul Othonis vultum intueri." Conf. Plut. *Mor.* 1211, 10. Translate, 'with their faces intently fixed upon him.'

39–40. καὶ μετὰ γυνα[illegible]ribus feminis virisque" (Tacitus).

40–41. τοὺς ἐπάρχου[illegible]rian prefects.' See on *Galb.* 2 *ad init.* Laco a[illegible] of Nymphidius Sabinus had been sole prefect[illegible] ntrary to all precedent, allowed the praetor[illegible] eir own prefects: Tac. *Hist.* i. 46, "Omnia [illegible] ilitum acta. Praetorii praefectos sibi ipsi [illegible] irmum e manipularibus quondam, tum vigilibus [illegible] t incolumi adhuc Galba partes Othonis secutum; [illegible] icinius Proculus, intima familiaritate Othonis susp[illegible] a eius fovisse."

41–42. διαλέγεσθαι καὶ πραΰνειν. Tac. c. 81, "Praefectos praetorii ad mitigandas militum iras statim miserat."

42–43. τοὺς κεκλημένους ἄνδρας ἀναστήσας. Tac., "Et abire propere omnes e convivio iussit."

43. καθ' ἑτέρας θύρας. Tacitus says, with rather more detail, "Tum vero passim magistratus proiectis insignibus, vitata comitum et servorum frequentia, senes feminaeque per tenebras diversa urbis itinera, rari domos, plurimi amicorum tecta, et ut cuique humillimus cliens, incertas latebras petivere."

44. μικρὸν ἔφθησαν ὑπεκφυγόντες. 'They barely had time to make their escape.'

45. ὠθουμένων εἰς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα. Tac. (c. 82), "Militum impetus ne foribus quidem Palati coercitus, quo minus convivium inrumperent, ostendi sibi Othonem expostulantes."

47. ὀρθὸς ἀπὸ τῆς κλίνης, κ.τ.λ. Another striking agreement with Tacitus: "Otho contra decus imperii toro insistens precibus et lacrimis aegre cohibuit, redieruntque in castra inviti neque innocentes."

49–50. διορησάμενος ἅπαντας. Tacitus states that the prefects were sent first to address them and finally to make them this promise of a donative (c. 82), "Manipulatim adlocuti sunt Licinius Proculus et Plotius Firmus praefecti, ex suo quisque ingenio, mitius aut horridius. Finis sermonis in eo ut quina milia nummum singulis militibus numerarentur."

50–51. χιλίαις καὶ διακοσίαις καὶ πεντήκοντα δραχμαῖς. On the practical identity of the δραχμή and denarius see note

on *Galb.* 2. As four asses made the sesterce at this period, and four sesterces the denarius, the sum exactly agrees with that given by Tacitus. It seems clear from the whole account of this mutiny that though it originated with the cohors from Ostia, it extended to the whole body of the praetorians in the camp, and we must understand that this donative was given to all and not to the seventeenth cohort only. Whether, however, this was Otho's only donative to the soldiers, or an extra one, does not appear from our authorities. It was certainly only a third of that given by Claudius and Nero (Dio Cass. 61. 3), and only a sixth of the impossible sum promised in Galba's name by Nymphidius. See *Galb.* 2 and note *ad loc.*

52. τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐπῄνεσεν. Tacitus gives or invents the speech which Otho made (cap. 83), in which he says, among other things, "Nimia pietas vestra acrius quam considerate excitavit; nam saepe honestas rerum causas, ni iudicium adhibeas, perniciosi exitus consequuntur."

53. ὀλίγους δὲ τινας οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ, *κ.τ.λ.* 'But there were, he said, a few among them who had gained an underhand and sinister influence, and who cast a slur both on his moderation and their discipline, and in the reprobation and chastisement of these he demanded their co-operation.'

ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ. Conf. Thuc. i. 131; ii. 17; iv. 87; v. 27, etc.

54. ὑποκουρεῖν. Conf. Plut, *Lucull.* 34, "*ὑποκουρεῖ τὴν Φιμβριακὴν στρατιὰν καὶ παρόξυνε*"; *Pomp.* 58, "*χρήμασι πολλοὺς εἰκουρῶν καὶ διαφθείρων.*" Conf. also Aristoph. *Thesmophor.* 1168.

57. δύο μόνους παραλαβὼν, *κ.τ.λ.* Plutarch does not agree entirely with Tacitus here. He implies that Otho selected two, who on account of their insignificance or some other reason were not likely to meet with any compassion. Tacitus says, "Sensit miles insidiam, et compositus in obsequium auctores seditionis ad supplicium ultro postulabant," though he confirms the statement as to the number executed (c. 86), "Neque enim in plures quam in duos animadverti iusserat."

CHAPTER IV.

2. ἐθαύμαζον τὴν μεταβολήν, 'were filled with admiration at his change of character.' For the change in Otho's character see Tac. c. 71, "Otho interim contra spem omnium non deliciis neque desidia torpescere: dilatae voluptates, dissimulata luxuria et cuncta ad decorem imperii composita."

οἱ δ' ἀναγκαῖα πολιτεύματα, κ.τ.λ., 'but others suspected that they were mere necessary acts of policy adopted for the moment to please the masses on account of the war.' So Tacitus i. 77, "Munia imperii obibat, quaedam ex dignitate reipublicae, pleraque contra decus ex praesenti usu properando."

5. ἀξίωμα καὶ δύναμιν αὐτοκράτορος. See *Galb.* cap. 22. 44.

6. πτεροφόροι. The word simply means here couriers, *i.e.* the speculatores connected with the 'cursus publicus.' Hesychius has πτεροφόροι· τέλος τι στρατιωτικόν. The word might possibly, however, have some reference to the sinister character of the news brought. A scholium to Juv. 4. 149 says, "antea, si quid nuntiabant consules in urbem, per epistulas nuntiabant; si victoriae nuntiabantur, laurus in epistula figebatur, si autem aliquid adversi, pinna figebatur." So also Servius *ad Aen.* ix. 473, "quidam voluit ideo hic 'famam pinnatam' e poeta inductam, quae tumultum et res adversas nuntiat." Gronovius (quoted by Prof. Mayor) thinks that the letters may have been called 'pennatae,' "quod feruntur a militibus, qui pennas in summo hastarum fixas gerebant: quod erat male rei gestae aut belli signum; unde et ipsi tabellarii πτεροφόροι dicebantur." Conf. Statius, *Silv.* v. 1. 92, "Nullaque famosa signatur lancea pinna."

7. ἀεί τι προσχωρεῖν ἐκείνῳ. For example Tacitus says (c. 59), "accessere partibus (*i.e.* to Vitellius) Valerius Asiaticus Belgicae provinciae legatus, ... et Iunius Blaesus Lugdunensis Galliae rector cum Italica legione et ala Taurina Lugduni tendentibus. Nec in Raeticis copiis mora, quo minus statim adiungerentur; ne in Britannia quidem dubitatum." Again Spain had at first declared for Otho, but the message soon arrived, "conversam ad Vitellium Hispaniam. Ne Aquitania quidem, quamquam ab Iulio Cordo in verba Othonis obstricta, diu mansit. Nusquam fides aut amor: metu ac necessitate huc illuc mutabantur. Eadem formido provinciam Narbonensem ad Vitellium vertit, facili transitu ad proximos et validiores." Another piece of misfortune for Otho was the desertion of the 'ala Siliana' stationed near the Po to Caecina (Tac. c. 70).

7–8. ἕτεροι δὲ τὰ Παννονικά, κ.τ.λ. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 76, "Primus Othoni fiduciam addidit ex Illyrico nuntius iurasse in eum Dalmatiae ac Pannoniae et Moesiae legiones." In Dalmatia was stationed the XI. Claudia, and temporarily the XIV. Gemina Martia Victrix, which had been recalled by Nero from Britain. In Pannonia stood the XIII. Gemina and the VII. Gemina, lately enrolled by Galba, while in Moesia there were three legions, the VII. Claudia, the VIII.

Augusta, and the III. Gallica. After Nero's death, we learn from Tacitus that the Illyrian legions made overtures to Verginius. "Sed longis spatiis discreti exercitus, quod saluberrimum est ad continendam militarem fidem, nec vitiis nec virtutibus miscebantur" (*Hist.* i. 9). Conf. *Hist.* ii. 11. "Laeta interim Othoni principia belli, motis ad imperium eius e Dalmatia Pannoniaque exercitibus. Fuere quattuor legiones, e quibus binas milia praemissa; ipsos modicis intervallis sequebantur, septima a Galba conscripta, veteranae undecimae ac tertiae decimae et praecipui famae quartadecumani rebellione Britanniae compressa. Addiderat gloriam Nero eligendo ut potissimos, unde longa illis erga Neronem fides, et erecta in Othonem studia." For the three Moesian legions, and their feeling towards Otho, see *Hist.* ii. 85, "Tertia legio exemplum ceteris Moesiae legionibus praebuit: octava erat ac septima Claudiana, imbutae favore Othonis."

9. περὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων. The legate of Moesia was M. Aponius, as we know from Tac. *Hist.* i. 79. He was honoured with a triumphal statue for repelling an attack of the Roxolani upon Moesia.

10. παρὰ Μουκιανοῦ. M. Licinius Mucianus was adopted into the Licinian from the Mucian gens. He was at one time legate of Lycia and Pamphylia (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xii. 1, and xiii. 27), "Mucianus ter consul prodidit ... cum praesideret Lyciae"), and was three times consul (*id. ib.*). He was made legate of Syria by Nero, probably in 67 A.D. Tacitus gives a sketch of his career (*Hist.* i. 10), "vir secundis adversisque iuxta famosus. Insignes amicitias iuvenis ambitiose coluerat; mox attritis opibus, lubrico statu, suspecta etiam Claudii iracundia, in secretum Asiae sepositus (a reference to his governorship of Lycia; conf. Otho's quasi-exile to Lusitania) tam prope ab exule fuit quam postea a principe. Luxuria, industria, comitate, adrogantia, malis bonisque artibus mixtus: Nimiae voluptates cum vacaret; quotiens expedierat, magnae virtutes." He was a collector and compiler of historical memoirs and letters (Tac. *Dial. de Orator.* 37), and the author of a book on the curiosities of Natural History, which is frequently cited by the Elder Pliny.

11. παρὰ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ. Titus Flavius Vespasianus, born 9 A.D. (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 74), was descended from a citizen of Reate, near which place he was born. He was with difficulty persuaded by his mother to take the latus clavus and to enter upon the senatorial cursus honorum. He served as tribunus militum in Thrace: he was quaestor in Crete and Cyrene, then aedile and praetor, though the last post he only gained after a previous disappointment. Under Claudius,

owing to the favours of Narcissus, he was sent to Germany as the legate of a legion, whence he was transferred to Britain as legate of the II. legion (Tac. Hist. iii. 44, Agric. 16) where he gained several victories in the south of the island, and was in the words of Tacitus "momentum belli." For these successes he gained the "ornamenta triumphalia." He was consul for the last two months of 51 A.D. After remaining in retirement for some years owing to his fear of Agrippina, he was after her death (c. 59 A.D.) made proconsul of Africa, which Suetonius, differing from Tacitus (Vesp. ii. 4?), says that he governed with honesty and dignity. At any rate on his return to Rome he was reduced to considerable poverty, and had to descend "ad mercaturas quaestus contemnendae dignitatis causa," while in 69 A.D. he fell into disgrace for going to sleep during one of Nero's performances (Tac. Ann. xvi. 5). However, in 67 A.D., when the Jewish war broke out, and Cestius Gallus, the legate of Syria, was defeated by the insurgents, Nero selected Vespasian to conduct the war with the title of legate of Judaea, "ipse petitionem electus est, [illegible] missus" See Suet. Vesp. 4.

[illegible] Tac. [illegible] "longinquae [illegible] pedes [illegible] grande [illegible] Judaicum [illegible] sacramento [illegible] adverteret, [illegible] Titus [illegible] perfidiae, [illegible] quod longa consuetudine [illegible] parabant.

[illegible] Antiochus in Syria had [illegible] Syriaca, VI. Ferrata, [illegible] which was, however, [illegible] Vespasian had three [illegible] X. Fretensis having [illegible] while the other two were [illegible] which Corbulo had [illegible] See Suet. Vesp. 4, "Additis ad [illegible] duabus, alteri nomen decimae."

[illegible] remember his position as a [illegible]

[illegible] vetera sordesque exui volui. Conf. Tac. [illegible] inertia ac flagitiosis luxuriae fundamentis infectae [illegible] Vitellium ejusque adhaerentes pecuniam et [illegible] quibus inter prodigae vitae [illegible] Suetonius (*Otho*,

8) and Dio Cass. (61. 10) assert that he offered him a share in the empire: Suetonius adds that he proposed to become Vitellius' son-in-law.

17. 'Αντέφαλε δὲ πλείονας, "paria Vitellius ostentabat."

17–18. **κατακρυπτόμενος ἡσυχῇ πρῶτον**, 'at first quietly dissembling his real feelings.' Tac. "primo mollius stulta utrimque et indecora simulatione."

18. **ἐκ δὲ τούτου διαβλήμασι**, *κ.τ.λ.* 'But afterwards they wrote letters full of all sorts of abuse and ribald mockery of one another.'

20. **οὐ φαῦλος μέν, ἀνοήτως δὲ**, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'in which, not without truth, but in a senseless and absurd fashion, one heaped upon the other reproaches which applied equally to both.' This is, perhaps, the most striking of all the verbal resemblances between Plutarch and Tacitus. The latter, however, has reproduced the common source from which both drew with much greater terseness and epigrammatic force: "mox quasi rixantes stupra et flagitia in vicem obiectavere, neuter falso."

22. 'Ασωτίας γὰρ καὶ μαλακίας, *κ.τ.λ.* 'For as regards debauchery and effeminacy and ignorance of war, and the amount of their previous debts caused by poverty, it was difficult to decide which of them had the least share in these things.' Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 50, "duos omnium mortalium impudicitia ignavia luxuria deterrimos," and "nunc pro Othone an pro Vitellio in templa iturus? utrasque impias preces, utraque detestanda vota inter duos quorum bello solo id scires deteriorem fore qui vicisset," and ii. 31, where Tacitus draws a certain distinction between them, "Vitellius ventre et gula sibi inhonestus, Otho luxu saevitia audacia rei publicae exitior ducebatur."

ἀνυπείας πολέμων. Vitellius had been proconsul of Africa, Otho legate of Lusitania, but neither of the posts had involved any military command. Vitellius took no part himself in the campaign which followed. Otho, who accompanied his army, entrusted the command to his generals.

22. **χρεῶν πλήθους.** On Vitellius' debts, see note on *Galb.* 22; see also Suet. *Vitell.* 7, "satis constat exituro viatieum defuisse." On Otho's, see Suet. *Oth.* 5, "instigante super animi dolorem etiam magnitudine aeris alieni."

24–25. **Σημείων δὲ καὶ φαντασμάτων**, *κ.τ.λ.* Tac. "Prodigia insuper terrebant diversis auctoribus vulgata" (c. 86).

25–26. **τὰ μὲν ἄλλα φήμας ἀδεσπότους ... ἔχων**, 'the majority were supported by mere vague and anonymous

rumours.' For a wonder Suetonius omits and Tacitus re these portents. The latter, quite after the style of says, "perlocutum in Etruria bovem, insolitos anim partus et plura alia rudibus saeculis etiam in pace obse quae nunc tantum in metu audiuntur."

26. ἀδιεπότους. Conf. Plut. *vit. Cic.* 15.

26–27. ἐν δὲ Καπιτωλίῳ Νίκης ἐφεστώσης ἅρματι. "in vestibulo Capitolii omissas habenas bigae, cui Vi institerat." This was a golden statue of Victoria of 32 weight, sent as a present, 'ominis causa,' by Hiero of Sy to the Roman people 216 B.C. The senate in its reply "Victoriam omenque accipere: sedemque ei se Divae dicare Capitolium, templum Iovis Optimi Maximi. In e urbis Romanae sacratam, volentem propitiamque, firm stabilem fore populo Romano" (Livy xxii. 37).

28. πάντες εἶδον. Tacitus states nothing so positi this.

29–30. τὸν ἐν μεσοποταμίᾳ νήσῳ Γαΐου Καίσαρος, Tac., "statuam divi Iulii in insula Tiberini amnis sere immoto die ab occidente in orientem conversam." Suet mentions this portent in the life of Vespasian, c. 5, but it in the life-time of Galba. "comitia secundi cons

37–38. οὕτω τοσοῦτος ἦρθη πρότερον. Livy mentions a bad flood in the year 193 B.C., "aquae ingentes eo anno fuerunt, et Tiberis loca plana urbis inundavit." Conf. also the well-known lines of Horace, *Od.* i. 1. 13, "Vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis Litore Etrusco violenter undis Ire dejectam monumenta regis, Templaque Vestae." The name of the river is spelt in various ways. Tibris (Verg. *Aen.* viii. 330), Thybris (Lucan. vi. 310), Tiberis (*passim.* see Liv. *loc. cit.*), Tiberinus, when the word has a sacred meaning. In Greek it is Τίβερις (Polyb. vi. 55), Θύβρις, Τιβέριος (Ptol. iii. 1. 5), and Θύμβρις here and in Herodian i. 11. 10.

38. εἰδὼς ἀνάλωτον τοσοῦτο, κ.τ.λ. Plutarch does not mention the details given by Tacitus, such as the destruction of the pons Sublicius, and the loss of life.

39–40. πολὺ μέρος τῆς πόλεως. Even, as Tacitus says, the parts usually free from such disasters.

40. πλεῖστον δὲ ἐν ᾧ, κ.τ.λ. 'But most of all that part in which they publicly sell the corn which is imported for that purpose, so that terrible want prevailed for several days.' This is an important passage for establishing the relation between Plutarch and Tacitus. The former could not have copied the latter, because Tacitus says nothing about the destruction of the corn; he mentions, indeed, 'penuria alimentorum,' but does not explain precisely how this arose. Plutarch gives the necessary explanation, and the two accounts prove perfectly consistent, though each author has certain details which do not occur in the other. The warehouses and magazines, both for corn and other sorts of merchandise, were mostly ranged along the river bank under the Aventine. Thus Livy (35. 10) mentions the emporium as being outside the Porta Trigemina; and corn magazines, the Horrea Galbae et Aniciana, are mentioned in the Notitia as existing in that region. For the existence of the emporium in this quarter, see also Liv. 41. 27.

ἐπὶ πράσεα, with διαπωλοῦσι, is really redundant, but it serves to distinguish the corn sold to the people at large from that which the emperors distributed at a nominal price to those whose names were entered among the corn-recipients.

41. ἡμερῶν συχνῶν is of course not a gen. of duration, but goes closely with ἀπορίαν, like μισθὸν τεττάρων μηνῶν, Xen. *Anab.* 1. 2.

42. κατασχεῖν. Conf. the phrase "κατέχει ὁ λόγος," Thuc. i. 10, and "τῶν σεσμῶν κατεχόντων," Thuc. iii. 89.

CHAPTER V.

1-2. τὰς Ἄλπεις κατέχοντες ... Κεκίνας καὶ Οὐάλης. The details of their march from Germany to Italy were no doubt given by Plutarch in his life of Vitellius. Tacitus gives an account of it (i. 61 foll.). Valens was to pass through the Gallic provinces and enter Italy by way of the Cottian Alps, while Caecina was to go by the more direct route over the Pennine Alps. Valens had with him detachments from the army of Lower Germany, numbering 40,000 men. With these, passing Divodurum (Metz), which narrowly escaped destruction, he heard of the death of Galba in the city of the Leuci. Entering the territory of the Lingones, he was only prevented from an attack on the Aedui by their voluntary present of supplies. The people of Lugdunum nearly succeeded in causing the destruction of their ancient rival, Vienna, but Valens allowed himself to be bought off. Passing thence through the Allobroges and Vocontii, he subjected the landowners and magistrates to every kind of extortion. "Sic ad Alpes perventum." The march of Caecina led him through the territory of the Helvetii, with whom a quarrel was easily picked, and many thousands of the local militia killed. The fate of Aventicum, the capital, was left in the hands of Vitellius. While still in their land, Caecina learnt that the 'ala Siliana' had deserted Otho, and had brought over with themselves the towns of Mediolanium, Novaria, Eporedia, and Vercellae. After a short hesitation as to whether he should turn aside into Noricum, which was still faithful to Otho, Caecina decided that Italy was the main prize to be secured, and led his army over the Pennine Alps.

1. τὰς Ἄλπεις. Unlike most mountain ranges, Alpes in Latin is always feminine, and the same gender is taken for it by the Greeks.

2. Κεκίνας. Alienus Caecina is described by Tacitus as "decorus iuventa, corpore ingens, scito sermone, erecto incessu." He had been quaestor in Baetica, and as a reward for his prompt action in joining Galba was made legate of a legion in Upper Germany, although this position as a rule was only held after the praetorship. Galba, however, soon discovered that he had been guilty of peculation, and ordered his prosecution. Anger at this fancied ingratitude was the cause of his espousing the cause of Vitellius (Tac. *Hist.* i. 53).

3. ἐν Ῥώμῃ Δολοβέλλας. For Dolabella see note on *Galb.* 23. 4, and conf Tac. *Hist.* i. 88, "Sepositus per eos dies Cor-

nelius Dolabella in coloniam Aquinatem, neque arta custodia, neque obscura, nullum ob crimen, sed vetusto nomine et propinquitate Galbae monstratus."

εὐπατρίδης ἀνήρ. The Cornelian was one of the most illustrious of the patrician gentes.

6. ὑποψίαν παρεῖχε τοῖς μισθοφόροις. This is not stated by Tacitus, who implies, however, that Otho himself did not attach much importance to the matter. We know from Plutarch that Dolabella had been spoken of as a possible successor to Galba (*Galb.* 23).

8. ἔτε αὐτὸν ἔτε ἄλλον δεδοικώς, 'in fear either of him personally or of some third person,' i.e. whom Dolabella might wish to set up.

8–9. ἐς πόλιν Ἀκίνιον. Aquinum, near the river Melpis, was in Latium on the via Latina. According to Cicero (*Phil.* ii. 106), it was a "frequens municipium." According to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* iii. 5) and Tacitus (*loc. cit.*), a colony. It was the birthplace of Juvenal (*Sat.* iii. 317).

9. παραθαρρύνας, 'with assurances of safety.' Otho seems to have removed him, just as he had put Marius Celsus in chains (*Galb.* 27 *ad fin.*), merely to secure his safety.

9–7. Καταλέγων δὲ τῶν ἐν τέλει συνεκδήμους, 'but choosing some of the magistrates as companions of his march.' Conf. Tac. c. 88, "Multos e magistratibus, magnam consularium partem Otho non participes aut ministros bello, sed comitum specie secum expedire iubet."

8. Λεύκιον τὸν Οὐϊτελλίου ἀδελφόν. Conf. Tac. *loc. cit.*; also *Hist.* ii. 54, iii. 37; and his death, iv. 2.

8–9. οὔτε προσθεὶς οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀφελών, κ.τ.λ. Tacitus says that he treated him "nec ut imperatoris fratrem nec ut hostis." So Verginius Rufus, on joining Galba, met with "οὔτε ὀργῆς οὔτε τιμῆς ἐπιδήλου" (*Galb.* 10).

10. τῆς μητρὸς ἐπεμελήθη τοῦ Οὐϊτελλίου, κ.τ.λ. Vitellius had left his mother, wife, and children behind him in Rome in very indifferent circumstances (Suet. *Vitell.* 7). Tacitus says that after Otho's election he wrote to Titianus Otho, his brother, "exitium ipsi filioque minitans ni incolumes sibi mater ac liberi servarentur. Et stetit domus utraque, sub Othone, incertum an metu: Vitellius victor clementiae gloriam tulit" (*Hist.* i. 75). His mother was Sextilia, "probatissima nec ignobilis femina" (Suet. *Vitell.* 2). In the speech made by Otho, just before his death, he says, "fruetur Vitellius fratre, coniuge, liberis: mihi non ultione nec solatiis opus est" (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 47).

11–13. [illegible] Φλαβίῳ Σαβίνῳ, κ.τ.λ. Tacitus says that the appointment was made by the praetorians immediately after the death of Galba (Hist. i. 46): "Urbi Flavium Sabinum praefecere, iudicium Neronis secuti, sub quo eandem curam obtinuerat, plerique Vespasianum fratrem in eo respicientes." Otho may have followed the wishes of the praetorians in making the appointment, as "omnia deinde arbitrio militum acta," but, technically, Plutarch is right in assigning the appointment to Otho, while he is probably correct in placing it just before Otho's departure from Rome. Otho, however, does not seem to have put implicit confidence in Sabinus, as we learn from Tacitus that on his departure "quietem urbis curasque imperii Salvio Titiano fratri permisit" (Hist. i. 90 ad fin.). In fact, in spite of his official position, he seems to have accompanied Otho in the campaign. See Hist. ii. 55. Flavius Sabinus was the elder brother of Vespasian. He took the "latus clavus" before his brother (Suet. Vesp. 2), and stood first both in influence and wealth (Tac. Hist. iii. 65), though he enjoyed [illegible] military reputation, and served under Vespasian as sub- [illegible]

[illegible] Hist. iii. 75. [illegible]

The office of praefectus urbi [illegible] changed. Originally the [illegible] praefectus [illegible] administrator of Rome and Italy [illegible] but without the definite title of 'praefectus urbi.' The first praefectus was appointed in 25 B.C. by [illegible] absence in Gaul and

Spain, though Messalla Corvinus, on whom his choice fell, resigned the office after six days. The next occasion was in 15 B.C., when Statilius Taurus was appointed by Augustus, not as consul, however, for he no longer held that office, but as princeps (Dio Cass. 54. 19) So far the office was purely temporary, and lapsed on the emperor's return to Rome. With the reign of Tiberius a change took place in this respect. We learn that L. Piso, who died in 32 A.D., had held the office 'viginti per annos' (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 11), but the fact that the praefectus urbi is not mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 7) among the other officials who took the oath to Tiberius, favours the view suggested by Mommsen that while the emperor was in Rome the office lapsed, though Piso was so far a permanent praefectus that he regularly officiated as such on each absence of the emperor, without a fresh appointment. But in the year 27 A.D., Tiberius remained constantly from Rome at Capreae, and from that time the praefectus urbi remained constantly in office. Thus Tacitus, in reference to the year 32 A.D., speaks of the post as "recens continuam potestatem." From this time it remained a standing office, tenable during the emperor's pleasure, but ipso facto vacated on the death of the emperor who made the appointment, unless it was confirmed by his successor. The post was always conferred on consulars, and usually was the termination of an honourable political career. See Tac. *Ann.* vi. 11, Momms. *Staatsrecht*, ii. p. 1012-1015.

14. *ἐπὶ τιμῇ Νέρωνος.* In order for the sentence to be properly balanced, this should be *ἐτίμησεν Νέρωνα*, corresponding to *εὔνοιαν ἐνεδείκνυτο Οὐέσπασιανῷ* below, just as *τοῦτο πράξας* answers to *αἴξων Σαβῖνον*.

14–15 *πρὸ ἐκείνου γὰρ ἐλήφει τὴν ἀρχήν.* In the year 57 or 58 A.D. See above.

15. *ἀφῃρέθη δὲ Γάλβας*, only in the sense of not reappointing him. Probably all mandatories of the emperor, such as the various praefecti, and also the legati of the imperial provinces, had to be reappointed by a new emperor.

17–18. *Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐν Βριξέλλῳ ... ἀπελείφθη.* Conf. Suet. *Oth.* 9, "Nec ulli pugnae adfuit, substititque Brixelli." Tacitus does not say that he remained at Brixellum during the whole campaign, but only that it was decided for him to retire there previous to the final battle (*Hist.* ii. 33), "idem illi deterioris consilii auctores perpulere ut Brixellum concederet." According to Plutarch's account, which is probably correct, he was at Brixellum all the time, with the exception of one occasion, on which he was present at a council of war at Bedriacum (cap. 8. 1), after which he again retired to

Brixellum (cap. 10. 1). Brixellum was on the right bank of the Po somewhat north of Parma. In addition to the main expedition to meet the forces of Caecina, Tacitus tells us that as the Pennine and Cottian Alps were blocked by the forces of Vitellius, Otho determined to attack Gallia Narbonensis by means of a fleet, *Hist.* i. 87, and gives the details of this expedition, ii. 12-16.

19. στρατηγοὺς δὲ ... ἐξέπεμψε, κ.τ.λ. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 87, "Peditum equitumque copi Suetonius Paulinus, Marius Celsus, Annius Gallus rect s destinati." That Spurinna was also one of the general appears from *Hist.* ii. 11, "his copiis rector additus Annio Gallus cum Vestricio Spurinna ad occupandas Padi ripa emissus." As these generals were unpopular with and s cted by the soldiers, he afterwards put his brother Titia over their heads (ii. 23), "Igitur Titianum fratrem accit bello praeposuit."

19-20. Μάριον Κέλσον. See note *Galb.* 25 *ad fin.*

20. Σουητώνιον Παυλῖνον. We first hear of Suetonius Paulinus under Claudius, when after his praetorship he was apparently legate of the army in Africa. (See note on *Galb.* 6.) He marched against Aedemon, a freedman of King Ptolemy of Mauretania, who was trying to revenge his master slain by Caligula (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 1), and penetrated beyond the Atlas Mountains (Plin. *loc. cit.*): "Suetonius Paulinus (quem consulem vidimus) primus Romanorum ducum trangressus quoque Atlantem aliquot milium spatio," also Dio Cass. 60. 9. This was in 42 A.D. The consulship soon followed (Tacitus calls him "vetustissimus consularium," *Hist.* ii. 37), and in 59 A.D. he was made by Nero legatus of Britain (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 29). After two successful campaigns in the West, during which he put down the rites of the Druids, he was recalled by the insurrection of Boadicea. This was put down, but not without severe losses, and Suetonius was recalled (*Ann.* xiv. 39) in 61 A.D. He was however consul ordinarius in 66 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 14). As regards military reputation he was regarded as second to none, "nemo illa tempestate militaris rei callidior habebatur" (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 31).

Γάλλον. On Annius Gallus and his part in the campaign, see Tac. *Hist.* ii. 11, 23-33, 44, etc., Plut. *Oth.* 7. 8. 13, etc.

21. Σπουρίναν. Vestricius Spurinna was born probably in 24 A.D. (He was 77 in 101 A.D. Conf. Plin. *Ep.* iii. 1. 10.) For his part in the present war see Tac. *Hist.* ii. 11, 18, 23, etc., and Plut. *Oth.* 5. 6, 7. 4. Under Domitian he was legatus Germaniae inferioris, and a triumphal statue was

decreed to him by the senate on the proposal of Nerva (Plin. *Ep.* ii. 1 and 2), "Nam Spurinna Bructerum regem vi et armis indaxit in regnum, ostentatoque bello ferocissimam gentem, quod est pulcherrimum victoriae genus, terrore perdomuit." He belonged to the literary company of friends of whom Pliny was one of the most conspicuous and active. Pliny writes to him (*Ep.* iii. 10, and v. 17) and gives an account of the way in which he spent his time at his country villa in *Ep.* iii. 1.

22–24. δι' ἀναξίαν καὶ θρασύτητα τῶν στρατιωτῶν. Examples of this insubordination are Tac. *Hist.* ii. 18. Conf. Plut. *Oth.* 5 *infra*; *Hist.* ii. 23. Conf. also *Hist.* ii. 39, where Tacitus says that the soldiers were more inclined "iussa ducum interpretari quam exsequi." Tacitus mentions another case of embarrassment to the generals besides the disobedience of the soldiers: *Hist.* i. 87, "Sed plurima fides Licinio Proculo praetorii praefecto. Is urbanae militiae impiger, bellorum insolens, auctoritatem Paulini, vigorem Celsi, maturitatem Galli, ut cuique erat, criminando, quod facillimum factu est, pravus et callidus bonos et modestos antefibat"; and ii. 39, "Celsus et Paulinus cum prudentia eorum nemo uteretur, inani nomine ducum alienae culpae praetendebantur."

The troops whom Otho led out from Rome were the praetorian cohorts, together with the veterani e praetorio, the legio I. Adiutrix, some vexilla equitum, the corps of speculatores, a large number of marines, and two thousand gladiators (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 11). These were reinforced by eight thousand troops detached from the four legions of Pannonia and Dalmatia, and by a number of auxiliary cohorts and alae of cavalry from the same provinces (*id. ib.*). See also ii. 18, 21, 24.

24. Οὐ γὰρ ἥδιον ἐτέρων ἀκούων. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 33, "Quando suspecti duces, et Otho, cui uni apud militem fides," etc.

25. ὡς παρ' αὐτῶν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τὸ ἄρχειν ἔχοντος, 'since the emperor derived his power from them.' A further reason was that the praetorians used to the city service were not accustomed to the hard duties and strict discipline of active service. Thus the Vitellians reproached them as "segnem et desidem et circo ac theatris corruptum militem" (*Hist.* ii. 21). A similar state of things became apparent in the German legionaries of Vitellius after some stay in Rome.

26. οἷδε τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγκαίνοντα. Instances of insubordination in the armies of Vitellius are *Hist.* i. 63 and 64, in the latter case caused by the quarrel between the legionaries

and the Batavian auxiliaries; 67, where the quarrel with the Helvetii is caused by the "avaritia ac festinatio unaetvicesimae legionis"; ii. 26, 28, and 29, where the legions are indignant at the separation of the Batavi; 30, where when they heard of Caecina's defeat "prope renovata seditio." In fact the experience of Valens was abundantly verified, "civilibus bellis plus militibus quam ducibus licere."

28. ἔμπληκτα καὶ σοβ[illegible] ad insubordinate.'

διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν, they had made Vitellius emperor. Plutarch lays [illegible]ese instances of relaxed discipline, in accordance [illegible]e had said in the preface to the life of Galba, cap. 1, ... [illegible]as nothing "φοβερώτερον ἀπαιδεύτοις χρωμένης καὶ ἀλόγ[illegible]στρατιωτικῆς δυνάμεως."

29. ἐμπειρία παρῆν τοῦ [illegible] At this period the German legions occupied the [illegible]position in the Roman army, a position which in [illegible]e of the second century passed to the army posted along [illegible] Danube frontier. Conf. such phrases in Tacitus as "robur adventantium legionum et famam Germanici exercitus" (*Hist.* i. 70), "Germanici exercitus robur" (*Hist.* ii. 21).

30. τοῦ κάμνειν ἐθάδες ὄντες. Conf. the complaints made by the mutinous German legions under Tiberius, "Mox indiscretis vocibus pretia vacationum, angustias stipendii, duritiam operum, ac propriis nominibus incusant vallum fossas, pabuli materiae lignorum adgestus, et si qua alia ex necessitate aut adversus otium castrorum quaeruntur."

οὗτοι δέ, the praetorians.

32. ἐν θεάτροις καὶ πανηγύρεσι, 'in theatres and festivals.' Conf. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 21, "Segnem et desidem et circo ac theatris corruptum militem." Spectacles in the theatre or the amphitheatre or the circus were very frequent at Rome under the emperors and were continually increasing. Under an emperor like Nero this would be particularly the case.

33–34. ὕβρει δὲ καὶ κόμπῳ ἐπαμπέχειν ἐβούλοντο, 'but they wished to cloak it (*i.e.* their effeminacy) under insolence and boastfulness.' So Tacitus says that they boasted of "urbanae militiae et praetorianarum cohortium decus." The praetorian cohorts are shown by inscriptions to have been enlisted almost exclusively from Italy, hence they looked down on the legionaries, usually enlisted from the provinces, as "peregrinum et externum" (*Hist.* i. 21). The praetorians also received double the pay of the legionary soldiers. So the latter complain "denis in diem assibus animam et corpus aestimari"; and ask ironically, "An praetorias cohortes, quae binos denarios acceperint, plus periculorum accipere?" (Tac. *Ann.* i. 17).

84-85. **πρόσω ποιήσασθαι τὰς λειτουργίας**, κ.τ.λ., 'disdaining furthermore to take up the duties of the camp on the ground of their superior station, not of any inability to endure them.' So Tacitus (ii. 19) says of the troops of Spurinna at Placentia, "vallari castra placuit. Is labor urbano militi insolitus contudit animos." The passage is certainly corrupt. The MS. reading *προστοιήσασθαι*, 'to pretend,' makes the sentence untranslatable. I have adopted Reiske's suggestion, *πρόσω ποιήσασθαι*, as the simplest way out of the difficulty.

86. **Ὁ δὲ Σπουρίνας προσβιαζόμενος**, κ.τ.λ. 'But Spurinna in attempting to compel them narrowly escaped death at their hands,' lit. 'incurred the risk of their all but killing him.' The construction is unusual and awkward, but not exactly ungrammatical. *κινδυνεύειν* is often followed by the accus. of the risk incurred, *e.g. κινδυνεύειν μάχην*, *κινδυνεύειν ἀποθανεῖν*. The accus. here is rather awkwardly represented by the accus. and inf. clause (*αὐτοὺς*) *μικρὸν ἐλθόντας ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν*. The usual phrase for 'to be within an ace of doing' is *παρὰ μικρὸν ἐλθεῖν* with an inf. Conf. Eurip. *Heracleid.* 295, "*ὡς δεῖν' ἔπαθεν καὶ παρὰ μικρὸν ψυχὴν ἦλθεν διακναῖσαι.*"

The pressure which Spurinna put upon his troops had no direct reference, as the connection in Plutarch seems to imply, to their unwillingness to perform the *λειτουργίαι* of the camp, but to their rash desire to meet the stronger forces of Caecina in the open field. When it was too late to prevent the Vitellians from passing the Alps, Otho sent forward Annius Gallus and Spurinna to occupy the line of the Po (*Hist.* ii. 11). Spurinna threw himself into Placentia with three praetorian cohorts, one thousand of the Illyrian vexillaries, and a few cavalry (ii. 18), while Gallus with the legion I. Adiutrix and two praetorian cohorts guarded the river further to the east. Meanwhile Caecina was master of Italy between the Alps and the Po, and some of his Batavian and German auxiliaries even crossed the river opposite Placentia (*Hist.* ii. 17). This gave rise to the false report (not believed by Spurinna) that Caecina's whole army had crossed. Spurinna determined to keep his troops within the town: "Sed indomitus miles et belli ignarus correptis signis vexillisque ruere et retinenti duci tela intentare, spretis centurionibus tribunisque."

89. **προδότην καὶ λυμεῶνα τῶν Καίσαρος καιρῶν**. "Quin prodi Othonem et accitum Caecinam clamitabant."

λυμεῶνα, a poetical word, but used by Isocrates, 187 B, "*σωτῆρες ἀλλὰ μὴ λυμεῶνες τῶν Ἑλλήνων.*"

41. **ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐφόδιον αἰτοῦντες**. This is not mentioned by Tacitus.

ἐφόδιον = 'viaticum.'

42. πρὸς Καίσαρα βαδιστίον. Otho was perhaps by this time already at Brixellum. He was accompanied by "speculatorum lecta robora cum ceteris praetoriis cohortibus, veterani e praetorio, classicorum ingens numerus" (*Hist.* ii. 11).

CHAPTER VI.

1. Ὤνησε δὲ τὰ πράγματα, κ.τ.λ. 'But the fortunes of the war and Spurinna's position were benefited for the moment by the mutual abuse which the soldiers levelled at one another at Placentia.' This does not entirely tally with the account of Tacitus, who describes all through with much greater clearness the early part of the campaign, and in particular the siege of Placentia. According to him (ii. 18 and 19), Spurinna against his will ("temeritatis alienae comes") led his troops out of Placentia, and ordered them to fortify a camp. This at once damped their ardour. Then "vetustissimus quisque castigare credulitatem suam, metum ac discrimen ostendere, si cum exercitu Caecina patentibus campis tam paucas cohortes circumfudisset." This was followed by "modesti sermones," the prudent policy of Spurinna was acquiesced in, and the troops allowed themselves to be led back to Placentia, "minus turbidi et imperia accipientes." The return to obedience, therefore, was not caused by the taunts of the Vitellian army, but by the first experience of what was involved by campaigning in an open country against a superior enemy.

3–4. Οἱ γὰρ Οὐϊτελλίου τοῖς τείχεσι προσβάλλοντες. The first day of the attack was marked by rashness and misbehaviour on the part of the Vitellians. They attacked while "cibo vinoque praegraves," and experienced a decided repulse. During the night "Vitelliani pluteos cratesque et vineas subfodiendis muris protegendisque obpugnatoribus, Othoniani sudes et immensas lapidum ac plumbi aerisque moles perfringendis obruendisque hostibus expediunt."

4. ἐχλεύαζον τοὺς Ὄθωνος, κ.τ.λ. This takes place, according to Tacitus, in the interval between the attacks of the first and second day: "Utrimque pudor, utrimque gloria et diversae exhortationes hinc legionum et Germanici exercitus robur, inde urbanae militiae et praetoriarum cohortium decus attollentium; illi ut segnem et desidem et circo ac theatris corruptum militem, hi peregrinum et externum increpabant."

5. σκηνικοὺς καὶ πυρριχιστὰς, 'frequenters of the theatre and the ballet,' lit. 'actors and Pyrrhic dancers.' The Pyrrhic dance, derived from Greece, was originally a Dorian war-dance. It was introduced into Rome under the empire, and formed one of the variations of the pantomime. Under Nero it was in particular favour, being usually danced by youths who were sometimes even rewarded with the Roman citizenship: Suet. *Ner.* 12, "Item Pyrrhicas (exhibuit) quasdam e numero epheborum quibus post editam operam diplomata civitatis Romanae singulis obtulit." Sometimes the dances were merely a kind of ballet, the dancers being richly dressed and adorned; sometimes dramatic pieces were represented in this form, as *e.g.* the story of Pasiphae (Suet. *Ner.* 12), while Friedländer believes that Juv. iv. 122 refers to a Pyrrhic piece.

6. Πυθίων καὶ Ὀλυμπίων θεωρούς. It was Nero more than any other emperor who introduced into Rome the practice of Greek athletics, which, though popular enough with the Roman mob, were never popular with the soldiers or the better classes: Suet. *Ner.* 12, "Instituit et quinquennale certamen primus omnium Romae, more Graeco, triplex, musicum, gymnicum, equestre quod appellavit Neronia." Conf. also Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 47, and the passage in Juvenal, iii. 67-78. Roman ideas on the subject are well expressed by Trajan's contemptuous remark, "Gymnasiis indulgent Graeculi" (Plin. *ad Trai.* 40).

8. μέγα φρονοῦντας, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'boasting of the decapitation of an unarmed old man.'

12. διακάησαν, 'were inflamed.' The word is almost confined in this metaphorical sense to Plutarch, who uses it frequently.

ὥστε προσπεσεῖν τῷ Σπουρίνᾳ, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'so that they humbled themselves before Spurinna, imploring him to make use of them and give them their orders, as there was no danger or labour which they would decline.' For this use of ἀπολέγεσθαι conf. Plut. *vit. Sol.* 12, "ὡς τῆς θέου τὴν ἱκεσίαν ἀπολεγομένης"; *Cat. Min.* 2, "τοῦ Κάτωνος δοκοῦντος ... ἀπολέγεσθαι τὴν δέησιν."

14-15. Ἰσχυρᾶς δὲ συστάσης ταιχομαχίας, *κ.τ.λ.* Tacitus with more detail (ii. 22), "Legionarius pluteis et cratibus tectus subruit muros, instruit aggerem, molitur portas: contra praetoriani dispositos ad id ipsum molares ingenti pondere et fragore provolvunt. Pars subeuntium obruti, pars confixi et exsangues aut laceri: cum augeret stragem trepidatio, eoque acrius e moenibus vulnerarentur, rediere infracta partium fama."

the genitive of quality. Conf. the description of the Cimbri by Polyaenus (*Strategem.* vi. *a*, 1), "ἀγρίων ἀνθρώπων, μεγάλας ὄψεις ἀλλοκότων, θηριώδη τὴν φωνὴν ἐχόντων."

23–24. Γαλατικῶς ἀναξυρίσι καὶ χειρίσιν ἐνεσκευασμένος. Tacitus says (ii. 20), "Ornatum ipsius municipia et coloniae in superbiam trahebant, quod versicolori sagulo, bracas, (barbarum tegmen), indutus, togatos adloqueretur." The breeches (bracae ἀναξυρίδες) were peculiar to the Gauls. So Cicero (*ad Fam.* ix. 15) speaks of "bracatae et transalpinae nationes." Conf. the name 'Gallia Bracata' given to Narbonensis to distinguish it from Cisalpine Gaul (Gallia Togata), and "bracatorum pueri," Juv. viii. 234; also Suet. *Caes.* 80, "Galli bracas deposuerunt, latum clavum sumpserunt." The χειρίδες (manicae) wore long sleeves or fur-gloves. There was nothing peculiarly Gallic about these, but they were marks of unusual luxury. Conf. Cic. *Phil.* xi. 11. 26, "Miror tamdiu morari Antonium: solet enim accipere ipse manicas." For the "versicolori sagulo" of Tacitus conf. Verg. *Aen.* viii. 660, "Galli per dumos aderant, arcemque tenebant ... Virgatis lucent sagulis."

24. σημείοις καὶ ἄρχουσι Ῥωμαϊκοῖς διαλεγόμενος, 'conversing by signs even with Roman officers.' No doubt this passage and the corresponding words of Tacitus ("togatos adloqueretur" are derived from some expression in the common authority. It is, however, almost certain that *σημείοις* is a corruption for some other word, since the point, as appears from Tacitus, lies in Caecina's addressing Romans while dressed in Gallic costume, not in his using signs for words. Solanus thinks that the original reading may have been τριβεννοφόροις (togatis), which was corrupted into *σημειοφόροις* and then into *σημείοις*.

25. τὴν γυναῖκα, her name was Salonina.

25–26. παρίππιον λογάδην ἵππιν, 'a retinue of picked cavalry attended.' Tacitus does not mention the retinue.

26–27. ὀχουμένην ἵππῳ κεκοσμημένην ἐπιφανῶς. Tacitus "quod quamquam in nullius iniuriam insigni equo ostroque veheretur."

28–29. κλοναὶ καὶ δορυδοκίαι παρὰ συμμάχων. Conf. the passages quoted above (Tac. *Hist.* i. 66).

30–31. βραδίοις ὁδοῖσιν. So Tacitus says (*loc. cit.*) "Lento deinde agmine per fines Allobrogum ac Vocontiorum ductus exercitus."

31. τῆς πρεσβείας μάχης. Probably not the siege of Placentia, but the battle described in the next chapter, near

the shrine of Castor and Pollux, twelve miles from
(Tac. *Hist.* ii. 24). When news of the battle can
army of Valens, "prope renovata seditio, tanquam
cunctatione Valentis proelio defuissent."

31–32. Οἱ δὲ τὸν Κεκίναν αἰτιῶνται. Caecina hi
inclined to lay the blame on his soldiers as "seditic
quam proelio paratum." He cannot, however, be acc
rashness. He certainly wished to retrieve his f
Placentia. "Angebant Caecinam nequicquam omn
et senescens exercitus sui fama. Pulsus Placenti
nuper auxiliis ... propinquante Fabio Valente, ne o
decus illuc concederet, recuperare gloriam avidius q
sultius properabat" (Tac. ii. 24).

33–34. ἄλλοις τε μικροτέροις περιπεσεῖν ἁμαρτήμα
'of having committed a number of other minor mist
of having engaged in a battle at an unfortunate
from ignoble motives, which nearly involved the de
of their whole cause.'

CHAPTER VII.

3–4. Ἄννιος Γάλλος πρὸς Πλακεντίαν, κ.τ.λ. Annius Gallus, as we have seen, had been sent forward with Spurinna to occupy the line of the Po. He was now leading up the legio I. Adiutrix to the assistance of Placentia, "diffisus paucitati cohortium, ne longius obsidium et vim Germanici exercitus parum tolerarent" (*Hist.* ii. 23). In all probability he had advanced up towards the north-east to meet the troops expected from Illyricum. He now marched perhaps from Modena to Ostiglia, and gained possession of the via Postumia, *i.e.* the road running from Hostilia through Bedriacum to Cremona.

4–5. ὃς ἥκουσε καθ' ὁδὸν. He was informed by Spurinna himself 'per literas.'

5–7. κινδυνεύειν δὲ τοὺς ἐν Κρεμόνῃ. This is a mistake on the part of Plutarch. It is quite clear that Cremona already had been occupied by Caecina. (1) Tacitus says generally (*Hist.* ii. 18), "Florentissimum Italiae latus, quantum inter Padum Alpesque camporum et urbium, armis Vitellii ... tenebatur." (2) (*id. ib.*) "capta Pannoniorum cohors apud Cremonam," which clearly means that Cremona and its garrison, one auxiliary cohort, were captured together. (3) In a skirmish between some Vitellian auxiliaries and some gladiators on Otho's side, the defeated Vitellians are said to have fled to Cremona (*Hist.* ii. 23), "Turbata ibi Vitellianorum auxilia, et, ceteris Cremonam fugientibus, caesi qui restiterant." Cremona is on the left bank or north side of the Po.

6. μετήγαγεν ἐκεῖ τὸ στράτευμα. Gallus was operating further to the east, and on the north side of the Po, probably with a view to meeting the Illyrian legions which were expected, and which would pass by way of Verona. We learn from Tacitus that he did not proceed to Cremona at all, but that while marching towards Placentia, stopped at Bedriacum, "ubi pulsum Caecinam pergere Cremonam accepit, aegre coercitam legionem et pugnandi ardore usque ad seditionem progressam, Bedriaci sistit." Bedriacum was on the via Postumia, two days' march south-west of Verona, and about 20 miles east of Cremona. See Tac. *Hist.* iii. 15. The distance between Cremona and Bedriacum is described (*Hist.* ii. 44) as "immensum spatium." Conf. Schol. ad Iuv. ii. 99, "Horum bellum scripsit Cornelius, scripsit et Pompeius Planta qui ait Bedriacum vicum esse a Cremona vicesimo lapide," and *ad* ii. 106, "Bedriacus Campus inter Hostiliam et Cremonam." According to the 'tabula Peutingoriana,' Bedriacum is 22 miles from Cremona. Its site was probably at Calvatone, between Piadene and Bozzolo. Gallus chose Bedriacum as his position, because here the road from Verona joined the

the Po, and joined their forces with those
riacum. This is not definitely stated eit
Plutarch, but it is perfectly clear, for (1) T
speaks of the accusation made by the
against all three generals, Gallus, Paulinus
(2) in the battle which both authors descri
following, Celsus and Paulinus are alone
generals, but they have with them the pr
"dextra fronte prima legio incessit") wh
been definitely mentioned as with Gallus
himself is not mentioned in the battle, bec
the fall from his horse which prevented hi
in the council of war before the final b
Plut. c. 9).

9. Τοῦ δὲ Κεκίνα λοχίσαντος εἰς λάσια
spot was twelve miles from Cremona, near
and Pollux: Tac. *Hist.* ii. 24, "ad duode
(locus Castorum vocatur) ferocissimos au
tibus viae lucis occultos componit."

10. ἱππεῖς δὲ προεξελάσαι. Both Tac
follow their authority very closely. "
longius iussi et irritato proelio sponte re
sequentium elicere, donec insidiae cooriren

14. ἐξήγγειλαν αὐτόμολοι τῷ Κέλσῳ = pr
anis ducibus.

14–15. Καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἱππεύσιν κ.τ.λ.

FIRST POSITION.

A. V.

D. eq. 4 *coh.* *L. XIII.* 3 *Pr.* *L. I.* 2 *coh.* *D. eq.*

Mille equites.

[*A. V.* = Ambush of Vitellians: 3 *Pr.* = three praetorian cohorts: *L. XIII.* = 2000 vexillarii of legio XIII.: *L. I.* = legio I. Adiutrix: 4 *coh.* = four auxiliary cohorts: 2 *coh.* = two auxiliary cohorts: *D. eq.* = 500 equites.]

Then Tacitus proceeds (c. 25), "Antequam miscerentur acies, terga vertentibus Vitellianis, Celsus doli prudens repressit suos: Vitelliani temere exsurgentes cedente sensim Celso longius secuti ultro in insidias praecipitantur: nam a lateribus cohortes, legionum adversa frons, et subito discursu terga cinxerat eques."

This is admirably explained by Heraeus as follows: Celsus advanced with a thousand cavalry (*D. eq. D. eq.*), five hundred from each wing. The Vitellians according to their orders turned in flight, but as Celsus kept his men from a hot pursuit, the ambush rose prematurely and charged at him. He gradually retreated drawing them after him. Meanwhile Paulinus had drawn back the line of infantry 'en échelon': *i.e.* the praetorian cohorts retired in a direct line along the high road, while the two legions also fell back, though not so much, and somewhat obliquely to the centre, the auxiliary cohorts meanwhile retaining their original position. So that the army of Otho was now somewhat as follows:—

SECOND POSITION.

Vitellians.

D. eq. *D. eq.*

4 *coh.* 2 *coh.*

L. XIII. *L. I.*

3 *Pr.*

Mille equites.

Celsus and his cavalry continued to retire
passed between the two legions, which the
protect them. So that the heedless Vitellia
selves with the legionary soldiers in front of th
adversa frons") and the auxiliary cohorts on
them ("a lateribus cohortes").

THIRD POSITION.

4 coh.

Vitelliana.

L. XIII. *L. I.*

D. eq. *D. eq.*

3 Pr.

Mille equites.

The last words of Tacitus' description ("subito di
cinxerat eques"), I interpret rather differently fro
He takes it to refer to the "mille equites e prae
were in reserve behind: I think it still refers to t
whom Celsus had led out, and who, as soon as
passed to the rear through the gap between the l
suddenly wheeled round again, right and left, and
Vitellians in the rear. The epithet 'subito' fav
view; and also the brief account of Plutarch, wh
Celsus "περισχὼν τὴν ἐνέδραν."

17. ἐκάλει τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. Thi
the tactics of Paulinus altogether, and assumes th
Celsus had advanced with the cavalry, the infantry
remained in camp.

18-19. Καὶ δοκοῦσιν ἂν ἐπελθόντες ... μηδένα λιπε
ἂν with the infinitive see Madvig, *Gr. Syn.* § 173. H
form of the condition in finite clauses would be εἰ ἐπῆ
ἂν ἀνέλιπον. It is not uncommon for the ἂν to be de
from the infin. and placed earlier in the sentence.
"Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν δοκεῖ τούτου μεῖζον εὐρεθῆναι τεκμήριον.

20-21. ἐπισπόμενοι τοῖς ἱππεῦσι, 'if they had close
lowed up the cavalry.'

21-22. ὁ Παυλῖνος ὀψὲ καὶ σχολῇ, κ.τ.λ. Accordi
Paulinus, Paulinus not only gave the signal for action too
was also broke off the battle too soon. He is describ

"cunctator natura et cui cauta potius consilia cum ratione quam prospera ex casu placerent" (ii. 25). Accordingly he caused the dykes to be filled up and the ground to be cleared before ordering his troops to advance. By this means the Vitellians had time to escape into some vineyards, which offered obstacles to the pursuing cavalry. When the infantry did charge, the Vitellians were routed at once, as Caecina made the mistake of sending forward the cohorts one by one, and so those already routed communicated their disorder to the still undefeated. "Ea ubique formido fuit apud fugientes occursantes, in acie pro vallo, ut deleri cum universo exercitu Caecinam potuisse, ni Suetonius Paulinus receptui cecinisset, utrisque in partibus percrebuerit."

22–23. *ἐνδεέστερον τῆς δόξης.* Tacitus says (c. 31) "nemo illa tempestate militaris rei callidior habebatur."

23. *δι' εὐλάβειαν*, 'through excessive caution.' Paulinus gave as his reason for not prolonging the pursuit, "timuisse se tantum insuper laboris atque itineris, ne Vitellianus miles recens e castris fessos adgrederetur et perculsis nullum retro subsidium foret."

24. *προδοσίαν ἐνεκάλουν αὐτῷ.* Tacitus only says here, "Apud paucos ea ducis ratio probata, in vulgus adverso rumore fuit." But in mentioning a similar prevention of pursuit in a minor skirmish on the part of an officer of Otho, he says, "Suspectum id Othonianis fuit omnia ducum facta prave aestimantibus. Certatim ut quisque animo ignavus, procax ore, Annium Gallum et Suetonium Paulinum et Marium Celsum ... variis criminibus incessebant" (cap. 23).

25. *μεγαληγοροῦντες*, 'with boastful language.'

26. *οὐκ ἐπὶ πᾶν προελθούσης*, 'had not reached its full fruit.'

27–28. *Ὁ δὲ Ὄθων οὐχ οὕτως ἐπίστευσεν, κ.τ.λ.* Tacitus describes Otho as "humillimo cuique credulus."

29. *Ἔπεμψεν οὖν Τιτιανὸν.* Tacitus mentions this in connection with an incident prior to the battle, "Igitur Titianum fratrem accitum bello praeposuit,' but he clearly did not assume the command till after the battle. L. Salvius Otho Titianus was the elder brother of the emperor (Suet. *Oth.* 1). He was consul in 52 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 52), and proconsul of Asia probably 63–64 A.D., where he had as his quaestor Iulius Agricola (Tac. *Agric.* 6), "Sors quaesturae provinciam Asiam, proconsulem Salvium Titianum dedit." He is described as a proconsul "in omnem aviditatem pronus." He was one of the Arval brethren, and indeed magister of the collegium as early as 58 A.D. Conf. Wilm. 2870, "L. Salvio

40. ἀνέζευξε, 'he marched forward.' Conf. Hdt. ix. 41, "ὡς χρεὼν εἴη ἀναζεύξαντας τὴν ταχίστην πάντα τὸν στρατὸν"; also used absolutely, as here, Plut. *vit. Pomp.* 42, *vit. Anton.* 84.

Tacitus gives a graphic description of the march: "Nolle requiem, non expectare ducem, anteire signa, urgere signiferos. Rapido agmine Caecinae iunguntur."

CHAPTER VIII.

1. Ὁ δὲ Ὄθων παραγενόμενος εἰς Βητριακὸν. He had remained behind at Brixellum hitherto, a fact which is not brought into prominence by Tacitus, who merely says, "Coniunctis Caecinae ac Valentis copiis .... Otho consultavit trahi bellum an fortunam experiri placeret" (cap. 31). See Plut. *Oth.* 5. 16. Betriacum is the form given in the mss. of Plutarch, Suetonius, Victor, Eutropius, and Hieronymus. On the other hand, Bedriacum is usually found in those of Tacitus, Pliny, and the Chorographer of Ravenna.

2. πολίχνη πλησίον Κρεμώνης. See note on cap. 7. 6.

3–4. Καὶ Πρόκλῳ μὲν ἔδοκει καὶ Τιτιανῷ, κ.τ.λ. According to Tacitus, Otho himself took this view (cap. 33), "Otho pronus ad decertandum: frater eius Titianus et praefectus praetorii Proculus imperitia properantes fortunam, et deos et numen Othonis adesse consiliis, adfore conatibus testabantur."

4–5. τῶν στρατευμάτων ὄντων προθύμων. See above, cap. 7. 23.

6. καὶ μὴ καθήσθαι τὴν ἀκμὴν, κ.τ.λ., 'and not to remain idle in camp, dulling, as it were, the edge of their power, and waiting for the arrival of Vitellius himself from Gaul.'

7–8. ἐκ Γαλατίας. Vitellius was engaged in filling up the gaps in his legions ("festinatis per Gallias dilectibus"). He then sailed down the river Arar to Lugdunum (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 59).

9. πάντα μεθ' ὧν μαχοῦνται παρεῖναι. Tacitus gives his arguments much more in full (cap. 12), "Exercitum Vitellii universum advenisse, nec multum virium a tergo, quoniam Galliae tumeant et deserere Rheni ripam inruptura tam infestis nationibus non conducat: Britannicum militem hoste et mari distineri: Hispanias armis non ita redundare; provinciam Narbonensem incursu classis et adverso proelio contremuisse."

10-11. οὐκ ὀλίγους ... δύναμιν δὲ Μυσίας καὶ Παν
See above, cap. 4. 7, and *Hist.* i. 76. Of the four legi
Dalmatia and Pannonia, eight thousand men only had
joined Otho's army; the legions themselves "modicis
vallis expectabantur." In Moesia there were three leg
III. Gallica, VII. Claudia, and VIII. Augusta. Thes
already reached Aquileia at the time when the de
battle was fought: Tac. *Hist.* ii. 46, "Sed praemissi e M
... legiones Aquileiam ingressas nuntiabant"; while the
legion was apparently with them, cap. 32, "Paucis
quartam decimam legionem, magna ipsam fama, cum Mo
copiis adfore."

12. ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ παρεῖχε καιρόν, κ.τ.λ., "festinati
hostibus, morem ipsis vitiem."

14. ἐπ' ὀλιγοστῶν, 'though with inferior forces.'

15. ἐν πλείοσι τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις προσλάβωσιν, 'i
additional combatants should prove a more numerous b
lot. 'If the combatants they should receive should be
numerous.' πλείοσι, tertiary predicate.

16. ἐκ παρασκευῆς, 'with all the conditions in their fav

16-17. τὴν διατριβὴν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτῶν, κ.τ.λ., 'delay
in their favour, as they were in abundance of all supp
"Contra ipsis omnia opulenta et fida ... publicas privata
opes et immensam pecuniam inter civiles discordias
validissimum."

17. ἐν ἀφθόνοις τούτων. Conf. "ἔφθονα πάντα παρέσ
Hym. Hom. Ap. 536, and Demosth. *De Coron.* 256, "εἰ τ
ἀφθόνων παρόντ

18. ἀσιτίᾳ δὲ τῶν χρόνων, κ.τ.λ. "Clausam Alpibu
nullo maris subsidio transpadanam Italiam atque ipso tran
exercitus vastam: non frumentum usquam exercitui
exercitum sine copiis retineri posse." Tacitus puts one
two other arguments omitted by Plutarch into the mouth
Paulinus, *e.g.* the effect which the hot Italian summer wo
have on the German troops; the prestige given to their ca
by the fact that they had Italy, the senate, and Rome
their side, "numquam obscura nomina etiamsi aliqua
obumbrentur."

20. Μάριος Κέλσος ἠγέτητο σύμψηφος, "Accedebat s
sententiae Paulini Marius Celsus."

21. "Αννιος δὲ Γάλλος, κ.τ.λ. "Idem placere Annio Ga
quamvis ante diem lassos equi adflicto missi, qui consilium e
subsidiarentur retulerunt."

22–24. **τὴν ἐκ Μυσίας παρμένων δύναμιν.** See note *supra*.

25–26. **οἱ πρὸς τὴν μάχην παροξύνοντες**, whom Tacitus describes as "deteriorís consilii auctores."

CHAPTER IX.

1. **Αἰτίαι δὲ πλείονες**, *i.e.* causes for the decision to fight at once. Plutarch states two—(1) the eagerness of the praetorians to have done with the campaign and to get back to the pleasures of Rome; (2) the impatience and anxiety of Otho himself, who wished before all things to escape from his present state of suspense.

2. **προδήλως**, 'beyond all question.'

οἱ στρατηγικοὶ προσαγορευόμενοι. See note on *Galb.* 2, "**τοῖς αὐλικοῖς καὶ στρατηγικοῖς προσαγορευομένοις.**"

3–4. **τότε μᾶλλον ἀληθινῆς γευόμενοι στρατείας.** See on cap. 6. 6, "**πολέμου δὲ καὶ στρατείας ἀπείρους,**" *κ.τ.λ.*

5. **διαίτης πανηγυρικῆς.** Conf. cap. 5, "**πλεῖστον χρόνον ἐν θεάτροις καὶ πανηγύρεσι ... βεβιωκότες.**"

5–6. **οὐκ ἦσαν καθεκτοὶ σπεύδοντες**, 'were not to be restrained in their ardour for battle.'

7. **ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς**, 'with a single rush,' and so almost suddenly. Conf. Demosth. *contr. Meid.* 138, "**τὸ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐξουσίας καὶ πλούτου πονηρὸν εἶναι καὶ ὑβριστὴν τεῖχος ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ἂν αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς παθεῖν.**"

7–8. **Δοκεῖ δὲ μηδὲ αὐτὸς Ὄθων**, *κ.τ.λ.* 'But apparently not even Otho himself could bear up any longer against the uncertainty, nor, owing to his inexperience in such matters and his effeminate nature, endure any rational consideration of the dangers; but, tortured by his anxieties, he seems to have hurried on with his eyes shut, like a man on a precipice, eager to entrust his fortunes to the first chance.' Conf. Tac. ii. 40, "Otho increpita ducum segnitia rem in discrimen mitti iubebat, seger mora et spei impatiens." Conf. Suet. *Oth.* 9, "Impatiens longioris sollicitudinis."

8. **ἐξαναφέρειν.** The word used intrans. means (1) to emerge from the water; (2) to recover from illness. Conf. Plut. *Mor.* p. 175, 11, "**Περίανδρος δὲ ἔοικεν ὀπὸ ἐν νοσήματι παιρῴῳ οὐ φαύλως ἐξαναφέρειν**," and p. 541, 18, "**ὁ ἀκρατὴς οἷον ἐξαναφέρων γλιχόμενος καὶ ἀναθεῖσθαι τὸ πάθος.**"

. ἐγκαλυψάμενος, lit. covering his
Plut. Phard. 118 A, "καὶ ἐγκαλυ
ταίσω ἐφθέγξατο."

12. ὥσπερ ἀπὸ κρημνοῦ. The const
n ἐγκαλυψόμενοι of hiding the eyes fro

πρὸς τὸ συντυχόν. Conf. the phr
erson one meets,' and so any ordinary

14. Σεκοῦνδος ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπισ
points out, the title ὁ ῥήτωρ seems t
of prominence, and accordingly th
s Secundus, one of the interlocutors
tus *De Oratoribus*, and who is als
an (xii. 10. 11). The secretary 'a
he three most important officers i
household, the other two being 'a
is.' Narcissus had been 'ab ep
and Burrus (not Afranius Burrus,
under Nero. Under the earlier e
e always held by freedmen, and
the first who conferred them on equi
tellius ministeria principatus per libe
Romanos disponit." This was not,
rule until Hadrian made it so. I
ntified with Iulius Secundus, he was
Otho may have pursued the san
The notice ascribed to Secundus was
ication given to the authority whom
ow. If it had been made to Plutarc
t certainly have said so, while it is
Secundus made the same commu
Tacitus (see ii. 40) independently.

ων δὲ ἦν ἀκούειν. This does not re
Tacitus' words, "Invenio apud quo
number of authorities were consulted.
be no doubt that the authority for t
storian whom both follow. The two
that they can only have one source
quosdam auctores pavore belli seu
ipis, quorum flagitia ac dedecus ape
ebantur, dubitasse exercitus, num po
in medium consultarent, vel senatui
peratorem."

συνελθεῖν, 'to come to some common

18. ἔλεσθαι τὸν ἄριστον. Tacitus adds that Paulinus was thought to have the best chance, "quod vetustissimus consularium et militia clarus gloriam nomenque Britannicis expeditionibus meruisset."

18–19. τὴν σύγκλητον καθίσαντας, κ.τ.λ., 'in accordance with the principle laid down on a previous occasion by Verginius Rufus.' (See *Galb.* 6.) Nomination by the armies became increasingly frequent after this time, though it was not until the anarchy of the third century that it became the most usual course. Designation by means of adoption was not really a third course, as election by the senate was still necessary after the emperor's death, and might constitutionally be refused.

20–21. μηδετέρου ... εἰδομισθέντος. Tac. "fastidio utriusque principis, quorum flagitia ac dedecus apertiore in dies fama noscebantur."

22–23. τοῖς γνησίοις καὶ διανόους, κ.τ.λ., 'to those of the soldiers who had the true Roman spirit, were hardy in body, and temperate in mind.' Conf. Plut. *vit. Mari.* 26, "διάνοιαι τὰ σώματα."

24. ὡς ἔχθιστον εἴη καὶ δεινόν, κ.τ.λ. 'Since it was a hateful and monstrous thing that the citizens should undergo all the mutual injuries and sufferings which had excited so much pity when caused by the ambition of Sulla and Marius, and then of Caesar and Pompey,—and undergo them now in offering the supreme power as an instrument to the gluttony and drunkenness of Vitellius, or the luxury and intemperance of Otho.' Tacitus also brings in the mention of the former civil wars, but in a different way, and for a different purpose. After stating his disbelief (in cap. 37) in the truth of the report which he and Plutarch both mention, on the ground that in so corrupt an age no one could have expected "tantam vulgi moderationem ut qui pacem belli amore turbaverant bellum pacis caritate deponerent," he goes on to trace these civil commotions back to the innate love of power which increased with the increase of the empire. "Modo turbulenti tribuni, modo consules praevalidi, et in urbe ac foro temptamenta civilium bellorum: mox e plebe infima C. Marius et nobilium saevissimus L. Sulla victam armis libertatem in dominationem verterunt. Post quos Cn. Pompeius occultior non melior, et numquam postea nisi de principatu quaesitum. Non discessere ab armis in Pharsalia ac Philippis civium legiones, nedum Othonis ac Vitellii exercitus sponte posituri bellum fuerint."

I think it is clear that the authority introduced the allusion more as Plutarch has it. Plutarch, probably following him

CHAPTER X.

1. **Αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν ἐς Βρίξιλλον ἀνεχώρησε.** As before remarked, we should gather from the account of Tacitus, if it stood alone, that Otho had hitherto been with his army. On this occasion he represents it as the subject of deliberation whether he should be present at the battle or not (cap. 33), "Postquam pugnari placitum, interesse pugnae imperatorem an seponi melius foret dubitavere. Paulino et Celso iam non adversantibus, ne principem obiectare periculis viderentur, idem illi deterioris consilii auctores perpulere, ut Brixellum concederet ac dubiis procliorum exemptus summae rerum et imperii se ipsum reservaret." Dio Cassius gives an additional reason for his retreat (64. 10), "ὁ Ὄθων ἀνεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς μάχης λέγων μὴ δύνασθαι μάχην ἀνδρῶν ὁμοφύλων ἰδεῖν." On Otho as a general, conf. Juv. *Sat.* ii. 99, etc., "Ille tenet speculum, pathici gestamen Othonis ... quo se ille videbat Armatum, cum iam tolli vexilla iuberet. Nimirum summi ducis est occidere Galbam, Et curare cutem," etc.

1–2. **καὶ τοῦτο προσεξαμαρτών.** Tacitus puts it more strongly, "is primus dies Othonianas partes adflixit."

2–3. **τὴν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ παρόντος αἰδῶ.** Tac., "remanentium fractus animus, quando suspecti duces, et Otho, cui uni apud militem fides ... imperia ducum in incerto reliquerat."

4. **τοὺς ἐρρωμενεστάτους, κ.τ.λ.** Tacitus says, "cum ipso praetoriarum cohortium et speculatorum equitumque valida manus discessit." What number of troops Otho withdrew with himself we do not know. It must, however, have been a considerable number to have produced the effect described on the rest. Before the battle we learn that "plerique copias trans Padum agentes acciri postulabant." The spirit or eagerness of the troops with Otho (*ἐρρωμενεστάτους καὶ προθυμοτάτους*) is evidenced by their conduct on hearing of the defeat (Tac. ii. 46), "non expectavit militum ardor vocem imperatoris; bonum haberet animum, iubebant: superesse adhuc novas vires, et ipsos extrema passuros ausurosque."

6–7. **στόμωμα τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπέκοψε,** 'separated from them the flower of their force.' The metaphor in *στόμωμα* is taken from the idea of the sharpness of a knife or sword. Conf. *supra*, cap. 8, "τὴν ἀκμὴν ἀμβλύνοντα τῆς δυνάμεως." Then it was used much like 'robur' in Latin. Conf. Diod. Sic. xix. 30, "Διὸ καὶ τότε τρισχίλιοι μὲν ὄντες εἶσεσι τὸ στόμωμα καθειστήκεισαν πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως," and Plut. *vit. Flamini.* 2, "Φιλίππῳ γὰρ ἦν στόμωμα μὲν εἰς μάχην ἀνεχρῶν ἡ Μακεδόνων

13. τὴν παρεσκευασμένην ὕλην, *i.e.* the ὁδὸν mentioned above.

14. ἐξεφλογίζε, 'fanned into a flame.'

15. ἐκπεσούσης, *i.e.* from the fire-ships.

16. τὰς τε ναῦς ἀνέτρεπον, 'in jumping hurriedly from the boats which formed the substratum of the intended bridge, they managed to upset them.'

17. μετὰ γέλωτος, 'in ignominious fashion.'

18. Οἱ δὲ Γερμανοὶ τοῖς Ὄθωνος μονομάχοις, κ.τ.λ. We should infer from Plutarch's words that the gladiators of Otho had occupied the island first, and that the Germans attacked and took possession of it. A reference to Tacitus, however, shows that this was not the case. Some of the gladiators appear to have been making for the island in boats, but the Germans swam across the channel and occupied it first, and were then attacked by the gladiators by means of boats. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 35, "Et erat insula amne medio, in quam gladiatores navibus molientes, Germani nando praelabebantur. Ac forte plures transgressos completis Liburnicis per promptissimos gladiatorum Macer adgreditur, sed neque ea constantia gladiatoribus ad proelia, quae militibus, nec perinde nutantes e navibus quam stabili gradu e ripa vulnera dirigebant. Et cum variis trepidantium inclinationibus mixti remiges propugnatoresque turbarentur, desilire in vada ultro Germani, retentare puppes, scandere foros aut cominus mergere."

Γερμανοί. We learn from another passage of Tacitus who these Germans were (c. 43), "Accessit recens auxilium, Varus Alfenus cum Batavis, fusa gladiatorum manu quam navibus transvectam oppositae cohortes in ipso flumine trucidaverant." On the skill of the Batavians in swimming and crossing rivers, etc., see *Hist.* i. 17, "Quo successu Vitellianus miles non iam flumine aut ripis arcebatur: inritabat quin etiam Batavos Transrhenanosque Padus ipse." Also *Hist.* iv. 12, and *Agric.* 18.

CHAPTER XI.

2–3. ἐκφερομένων μετ' ὀργῆς ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην. Tacitus merely says, "miles alacer, qui tamen iussa ducum interpretari quam exsequi mallet."

3. προήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Πρόκλος. Conf. Tac. c. 39, "vis ac potestas penes Proculum praefectum."

4–5. κατεστρατοπέδευσαν ἀπὸ πεντήκοντα σταδ says four miles (ii. 39). 50 stades would be eq little over six miles.

5. οὕτως ἀπείρως, κ.τ.λ. The verbal simila Tacitus and Plutarch is here very striking. "I quartum a Bedriaco castra placuit, adeo imperi quam verno tempore anni et tot circum amn aquae fatigarentur."

6. τῆς μὲν ὥρας ἐαρινῆς οὔσης. The battle was fought on the 14th of April.

7. πολλὰ νάματα καὶ ποταμοὺς ἀεννάους. Be stood at the confluence of two small rivers, the Clesis, and between Bedriacum and Cremona least five small nameless streams, flowing eithe or the Ollius. These would all be at their ful and April (conf. cap. 4, "Ἦν γὰρ ὥρα, περὶ ποταμοὶ πλήθουσιν"). Otherwise ἀεννάους is by happy epithet for Italian streams and rivers, whi few exceptions, are almost completely dry for in the year.

9. προάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὁδὸν οὐκ ἐλά The statement of Plutarch is simple and presents The distance from Bedriacum to Cremona, it w bered, was 20 miles. The Othonians had alrea about six, and the hundred stades, or 12½ mile tated would just bring them to the outposts of t Unfortunately, however, the account of Tacitu sistent with this, and presents very considerab (c. 40), "Non ut ad pugnam sed ad bellan confluentes Padi et Aduae fluminum sedecim spatio distantes petebant. Celso et Paulino militem itinere fessum, sarcinis gravem obice omissuro, quo minus expeditus et vix quattuor progressus aut incompositos in agmine aut dispe molientes adgrederetur." Now the confluence the Adda is about four miles on the other side *i.e.* towards the west. Two difficulties at once selves: (1) It is almost inconceivable that e perienced Proculus could have formed the desig straight past the enemies' position to a point on of it, a flanking movement which could only hav success, if the army made a considerable detour the enemies' lines. But any such detour is inco the distance given by Tacitus. (2) This dista is in any case too small. According to Tacitu

16 miles from Cremona, having already proceeded "ad quartum a Bedriaco" (cap. 39). It would, therefore, be at least 20 to the confluence of the Po and the Adda, even if they proceeded as the crow flies. Mommsen, in a monograph on "Die zwei Schlachten bei Bedriacum," assumes that Tacitus has confused the ultimate goal of the Othonians with the end of their first day's march. He thinks that their object was a flanking movement, and their destination the confluence of the Po and the Adda, but that the first day's march was to some point on the road between Bedriacum and Brixia, from which on a second day they would reach the outlet of the Adda. I cannot, however, think that this is a probable explanation. It is true that the words "non ut ad pugnam sed ad bellandum" is slightly in favour of it, but these seem to be inserted merely to show the carelessness and incapacity of the generals. For it seems quite clear from the objections of Paulinus that they did expect to fight at the end of the day's march, and also they were clearly aiming at some spot only 4 miles from Cremona ("vix quattuor milia passuum progressus"), whereas the detour assumed by Mommsen would surely have taken them further to the north than this. I am convinced myself that no flanking movement was intended or attempted. The soldiers were, as Plutarch says, "*οὐ καθεκτοὶ σπεύδοντες ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, ὡς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἁρπασόμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους*," and the generals appear to have been as rash as the men. The only way of getting a satisfactory idea of what really took place is, I think, to place our dependence on Plutarch in this instance, who, it must be remembered, had himself gone over the battlefield in company with Mestrius Florus, who had actually been present with Otho's army on the occasion. In all probability, therefore, the various points and halting-places were pointed out to him, and the distances, differing as they do from those of Tacitus, are probably the result of his own calculation. They seem to suit the geographical data fairly well. The army then proceeded first 50 stades (*i.e.* 6 miles) along the via Postumia. (Tacitus' words "ad quartum a Bedriaco" imply that the high road was followed.) Then the next day, instead of following the high road further, they deflected a little in the direction of the Po, probably with the view of forming a junction with the gladiators who were still on the right bank. A hundred stades (or 12½ miles) would take them almost exactly to the Po at a point where a small stream from the north flows into it, and therefore I think it quite possible that Aduae in Tacitus is either, as Nipperdey suggests, a gloss or a misreading for some other and less familiar name. This point again is about five miles

from Cremona, and therefore, if we remembe
was probably encamped outside the city, thi
spond with sufficient closeness to the 'quattuor
of Tacitus. If we refuse to take Plutarch for
afraid we must give the problem up, as nothi
out of the statement and distances of Tacitus

10. οἱ περὶ τὸν Παυλῖνον. Conf. cap. 9
περὶ τὸν Κέλσον."

11. προτρονεῖν ἑαυτούς. This transitive use
rare.

12. μηδὲ εἰθὺς ἐκ πορείας μάχην τίθεσθα
evidently assumed that the battle is to be fou
day.

14–15. ἀναμεμιγμένων ὑποζυγίων καὶ ἀκολο
tus speaks of 'mixta vehicula et lixae.' The
doubt confident of victory, evidently intended
the field after the battle was over. They the
mistake of taking all their heavy baggage wit
justified the criticism of Tacitus, "non ut ad
bellandum profecti."

16–17. ἦλθε παρ' Ὄθωνος ἱππεὺς τῶν καλου
Conf. Tac. ii. 40, "Titianus et Proculus, ul
cerentur, ad ius imperii transibant. Aderat
Numida cum atrocibus mandatis quibus Otho, i
segnitia rem in discrimen mitti iubebat, aeg
impatiens." Numidians and Moors were con
couriers by the rich. Conf. Senec. *Ep.* 123.
sic peregrinantur ut illos praecurrat Numida
ut agmen cursorum antecedat"; also 87. 9
Numidas," etc.; Juv. v. 52, "tibi pocula c
dabit."

20. ὁ δὲ Κεκίνας πυθόμενος. He was engag
of the bridge, "cum praecipites exploratores ade
tiavere." Tacitus mentions a visit paid to
tribunes of the praetorians: their purpose, w
able or treacherous, remained unknown, as
dismissed them and hurried back to the camp,
from Tacitus (iii. 26) was placed round the wa
and surrounded with a rampart: "Othoniano
cus miles moenibus Cremonensium cas a sua,
circumiecerat."

23. Ὡπλισμένων δὲ ἤδη τῶν πολλῶν, κ.τ.λ.
ing verbal similarity with Tacitus, "datum
pugnae signum et militem in armis invenit.
ordine agminis sortiuntur, equites prorupere."

Tacitus says, were repulsed by the Othonians, though fewer in number, and were only prevented from being entirely forced back into the Vitellian camp by the bravery of the legio I. Italica. Meanwhile the Vitellians, protected from the view of the enemy by the thick brushwood, put themselves into position without confusion, while among the Othonians, as Plutarch says, οὐδὲν ἦν κόσμῳ γινόμενον.

CHAPTER XII.

2–3. δόξα καὶ λόγος ὡς μεταβαλουμένων τῶν Οὐιτελλίου. Tacitus says it was the army which was reported to have deserted, not the generals; and suggests that the rumour was either spread by the scouts of Vitellius, or arose by chance or treachery in Otho's own army.

4. ἡσπάσαντο φίλιον, "omisso pugnae ardore, Othoniani ultro salutavere."

5. Ἐκείνων δὲ τὴν προσαγόρευσιν, κ.τ.λ. Again the similarity is very close. "Et hostili murmure excepti plerisque suorum ignaris quae causa salutandi metum proditionis fecere." A somewhat similar mistake, though from a different cause, was made on a later occasion when the 3rd legion, which had long been used to Oriental customs, saluted the rising sun, and was thought by the enemy to be greeting them (Tac. *Hist.* iii. 24).

12–13. τὰ σκευοφόρα τοῖς μαχομένοις φυλαξόμενα. Tacitus "mixta vehicula et lixae."

13–14. πολλοῖς δὲ τὰ χωρία διασπασμοὺς ἐποίει, κ.τ.λ., 'while the nature of the ground caused many gaps in their line.'

14. τάφρων ὄντα μεστὰ. As at the present day the level country about the Po region was divided up by dykes and ditches, "praeruptis utrimque fossis" (Tac.).

16. φόρβην, 'in confusion.'

17. Μόναι δὲ δύο λεγεῶνες, κ.τ.λ. This combat between the two legions is also picked out for special description by Tacitus, ii. 43. He says that they fought "inter Padum viamque patenti campo."

17–18. οὕτω γὰρ τὰ τάγματα Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν. On τάγματα used for legions conf. *Galb.* 6, "Οὐεργίνιοι δὲ ταγμάτων ἐπιστατῶν δυνατώτατοι."

originally out of the 'vernacula multi
after the defeat of Varus in Germany.
have given in an article on the Roman
to Severus in the *English Historical*
Tac. *Ann.* i. 31). It was sent at once
stationed there, its winter quarters
mutiny after the death of Augustus thi
ing part (*Ann.* i. 31 and 45). It howe
its gallantry in the campaign of Germ
(*Ann.* i. 64, ii. 7 and 16). Between th
of Nero it had been transferred, probal
XVI. Gallica, to Upper Germany; an
stituted the main strength of Caecina'
61, "Triginta milia Caecina e superi
quorum robur legio unaetvicesima fuit.

ἐπίκλησιν. All the legions were
cognomen, derived either from their ori
istics, or from some particular event.
IV. and V., were called Macedonicae,
were present at the battle of Philipp
were called Claudiae, on account of th
in the rising of Scribonianus (Dio Cass
and VIII. were called Augusta, etc.
only to the two legions enrolled from
point to the circumstances of pressure
first formed.

19. ἡ δὲ Ὄθωνος Βοηθός, 'e parte O
This was the legion originally and i
Nero out of the classiarii, then decimat
of its disorderly demand for the confir
character, and, finally, as two Military

the history of the legion given above. It had, however, been engaged before in the battle fought near the temple of Castor. See Tac. *Hist.* ii. 24, and note above on cap. 7.

24-25. πολλῶν ἀγώνων ἐθάδες. See history of the legion above, and Tacitus' expression 'vetere gloria insignis.'

25. γηραιοὶ καὶ παρακμάζοντες. γηραιοὶ is no doubt a translation of 'veterani.' Conf. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 11, where the 'undecima et tertia decuma' are called 'veteranae,' in opposition to the 'septuma a Galba conscripta.' Plutarch probably misunderstood the term, and, thinking it implied old age in the soldiers, added παρακμάζοντες, 'past their prime.' The legions, however, were constantly being recruited with young blood, and could never be said to be past their prime.

27. τὸν ἀετὸν ἀφεῖλοντο, κ.τ.λ. Tac., "Primani stratis unaetvicesimorum principiis aquilam abstulere."

28. οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ αἰσχύνης καὶ ὀργῆς, κ.τ.λ. Tacitus agrees in every detail, "quo dolore accensa legio et impulit rursus primanos, interfecto Orfidio Benigno legato, et plurima signa vexillaque ex hostibus rapuit."

29. τὸν πρεσβευτὴν τοῦ τάγματος. The legatus legionis was taken as a rule from the ex-praetors. One example among many would be that of Agricola, who was first praetor (Tac. *Agric.* cap. 6), then legate of the XX. legion in Britain (cap. 7). So, too, Vespasian was praetor under Caligula (Suet. *Vesp.* 2), but he was only 'legatus legionis' under Claudius (*id.* cap. 4).

31. Τοῖς δὲ μονομάχοις, κ.τ.λ. The gladiators attempted apparently to cross the river and form a junction with the main body of Otho's army. Alfenus Varus was sent to prevent this, as the gladiators were expected to prove formidable antagonists in a close encounter. Tacitus and Plutarch differ somewhat in their account of what took place. Tacitus says that the Batavian cohorts put them to the sword in the river itself (cap 43): "Accessit recens auxilium, Varus Alfenus cum Batavis, fusa gladiatorum manu, quam navibus transvectam oppositae cohortes in ipso flumine trucidaverant." Plutarch's account would seem to show that they passed the river, and proceeded some little distance before they encountered Varus and the Batavians, and that they were then driven back to the river and intercepted by some other cohorts sent there for the purpose.

32. πρὸς τὰς συμπλοκάς, 'for close combats.' Conf. Plat. *Legg.* 853 A, "ἡ ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς μάχη."

32-33. Οὐάρος Ἀλφῆνος. He was praefectus castrorum,

as we learn from Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 29. He was afterw
made praefectus praetorii by Vitellius, Tac. *Hist.* iii. 36 *a*

33. τοὺς καλουμένους Βατάβους. Eight Batavian co
had formed the auxiliary force attached to the XIV. legi
Britain. They had, however, amid the discord of the t
parted from the legion as the result of a quarrel, and whil
legion was stationed in Dalmatia, they remained in the terr
of the Lingones, where they joined themselves to the ar
Fabius Valens (Tac. *Hist.* i. 59 and 64). Their insubor
tion was the cause of a mutiny in Valens' camp at Ticin
27). At a later time, under the leadership of Civilis,
were the main strength of the military insurrection in
many and Gaul, which was with so much difficulty put
See Tac. *Hist.* iv. 12-37, 50-80; v. 14-26.

33-34 Εἰσὶ δὲ Γερμανῶν ἱππεῖς ἄριστοι. As cohort
were not entirely cavalry, but they must have been 'co
equitatae,' *i.e.* infantry with a certain contingent of ca
That there were cavalry among them is clear from s
passages. Tacitus (*Agric.* 18) calls these "lectissimos
arium quibus nota vada et patrius nandi usus, quo simul

attacked the gladiators from the front, others were sent round to intercept their flight at the river bank.

39. πάντες ὁμαλῶς, 'all alike,' a not uncommon phrase in Plutarch. Cf. *Cons. vit. Pericl.* 6 and 10.

39-40. Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ἡγωνίσαντο .. οἱ στρατηγικοί. It is possible that Plutarch, who has laid such stress on the luxurious life of the praetorians at Rome, put this in from the probabilities of the case without definite authority. Tacitus, at any rate, does not confirm this. He says generally (cap. 43), "Othoniani quamquam dispersi pauciores fessi, proelium tamen acriter sumpsere," and after the battle is over, he represents the praetorians as eager for a renewal of it (cap. 44), "praetorianus miles non virtute se sed proditione victum fremebat," etc. It deserves notice that there were some signs of treason among some of the praetorian cohorts. Tacitus (ii. 41) mentions a very suspicious interview between Caecina and two tribunes of praetorian cohorts, though he says it was uncertain "insidias an proditionem vel aliquod honestum consilium coeptaverint." Certainly the praetorians themselves complained of treachery (Tac. ii. 44), "praetorianus miles non virtute se sed proditione victum fremebat," while it is perhaps not unconnected with this that two praetorian cohorts seem to be in attendance on Vitellius shortly after the battle (Tac. ii. 66). May not the praetorians, whom Plutarch describes as fleeing without striking a blow, be these two cohorts which had already made their own terms?

40-41. μηδὲ ὅσον ἐν χερσὶ γενέσθαι, *κ.τ.λ.*, 'not even awaiting the enemy long enough to come to blows at all.' For this use of ὅσον after an implied *τοσοῦτον*, conf. Thuc. i. 2, "*νεμόμενοι τὰ αὑτῶν ἕκαστοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν*"; Xen. *Anab.* iv. 1. 5, "*ἐλείπετο τῆς νυκτὸς ὅσον ... διελθεῖν τὸ πεδίον*"; also Thuc. iii. 49, "*ἡ μὲν ἔφθασε τοσοῦτον ὅσον Πάχητα ἀνεγνωκέναι τὸ ψήφισμα.*"

43. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, 'not but what.'

44. τοὺς καθ' αὑτοὺς ἐβιάσαντο, *κ.τ.λ.* Tacitus only gives one instance of the kind, and that at the very beginning of the battle, when the cavalry of the Vitellians "a paucioribus Othonianis quo minus in vallum impingerentur, Italicae legionis virtute deterriti sunt."

45-46. ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, *i.e.* at Bedriacum. Tacitus describes the carnage of the flight (cap. 44), "Et media acie perrupta fugere passim Othoniani Bedriacum petentes. Immensum id spatium, obstructae strage corporum viae quo plus caedis fuit: neque enim civilibus bellis capti in praedam vertuntur."

CHAPTER XIII.

1. οὔτε Πρόκλος οὔτε Παυλῖνος, κ.τ.λ. Th
however, together. Conf. Tac. ii. 44, "Suetoni
Licinius Proculus diversis itineribus castra vit
melancholy to find that Paulinus, in order to
afterwards, in company with Proculus, asserted t
and confusion of the Othonians were due to his c
(Tac. *Hist.* ii. 60), "Suetonium Paulinum ac I
calum tristi mora squalidos tenuit, donec audi
magis defensionibus quam honestis uterentur.
ultro imputabant, spatium longe ante proelium
gationem Othonianorum, permixtum vehiculi
pleraque fortuita fraudi suae adsignantes.
credidit de perfidia et fidem absolvit."

3–4. ἤδη τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τρέπε
tus gives an example, cap. 44, "Vedium Aqu
decumae legionis legatum irae militum incon
obtulit. Multo adhuc die vallum ingressus cla
sorum et fugacium circumstrepitur: non probris,
abstinent; desertorem proditoremque increpant,

4. Ἄννιος δὲ Γάλλος ἀνελάμβανεν, κ.τ.λ. An
disabled by a fall from his horse, had remaine
Bedriacum. See cap. 8 *ad fin.*

5–6. παρεμυθεῖτο ... ὡς ἀγχωμάλου γεγενημέν
says that Annius Gallus simply prevented them fr
ing the disaster by turning against one anothe
siderations as to the evenness of the battle, etc.,
the mouth of the praetorians, "ne Vitelli
incruentam fuisse victoriam, pulso equite, r
aquila," etc.

8. Μάριος δὲ Κέλσος, κ.τ.λ. 'But Marius C
the officers together and bade them consider th
the commonwealth, since in the face of such a di
heavy a slaughter of citizens, even Otho himsel
an honourable man, would never wish them to m
trial of fortune, inasmuch as even Cato and
blamed for refusing to yield to Caesar after hi
Pharsalia, and for so adding to the list of victi
brave men in Libya without any necessity, al
were struggling for the cause of Roman freedo
says nothing about the advice of Celsus, but i
which he attributes to Otho himself, there are sev

strongly resembling what Plutarch makes Celsus say (cap. 47): "ne plus quam semel certemus, penes me exemplum erit," and "an ego tot egregios exercitus sterni rursus et rei publicae eripi patiar?" Clearly some common authority has been used for the two speeches, and I believe that Plutarch's account follows the common authority, while Tacitus, in his desire to idealise the last scenes of Otho's career, puts into his mouth the sentiment which Celsus, according to Plutarch, says that he ought to have. This tendency to idealise the death of Otho appears also in Martial vi. 32:

> "Dum dubitaret adhuc belli civilis Enyo
> Forsitan et posset vincere mollis Otho,
> Damnavit multo staturum sanguine Martem
> Et fodit certa pectora tota manu.
> Sit Cato, dum vivit, sane vel Caesare maior:
> Dum moritur, numquid maior Othone fuit?"

As a matter of fact, however, there was little magnanimity in Otho's death. No doubt the praetorians immediately round him were devoted to his cause, but the account given by Plutarch in cap. 13 shows clearly enough that Celsus and Gallus were against all further resistance, and that the soldiers, in spite of a feeble attempt on the part of Titianus, were quite ready to join the Vitellians. This being so, Otho had no other course than the desperate one which he followed.

τοὺς ἐν τέλει. The council of war included the various legati legionum, the praefects and tribunes of auxiliary cohorts and alae, and the primipili.

12. ὅπου καὶ Κάτων καὶ Σκηπίων, κ.τ.λ. After the defeat of Pharsalia, the leaders of the Pompeian party fled to Africa, where they made common cause with Juba, King of Numidia. The chief command was offered by the soldiers to Cato, but he gave it up to Metellus Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey. The battle of Thapsus, in 46 B.C., brought the war to an end.

15. καίτοι ἀγωνιζόμενοι, κ.τ.λ. Of course the implication is—much less would the Othonians be justified in continuing the contest, when the result could only be the substitution of one master for another.

16–17. Τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα κοινὴν ἡ τύχη, κ.τ.λ. 'For while in other respects Fortune shows herself the same to all, there is one advantage of which she does not deprive the brave, viz., a good name, even in adversity, with which to face whatever chances come.'

20–21. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ... τοὺς στρατιώτας ὥρων ἀρήνης δεομένους. This was on the next day. See Tac. c. 45, "Postera die haud

ambigua Othoniani exercitus voluntate, et qui fe
fuerant, ad paenitentiam inclinantibus missa legatio."

22-23. ἔδοξε Κέλσῳ καὶ Γάλλῳ βαδίζειν. Tacit
not say that the generals went themselves, nor
mention their being met by centurions from the
army.

25. τὴν μὲν δύναμιν ἤδη κεκινημένην λέγοντες, κ.τ
learn from Tacitus that the Vitellian army had adva
the day of the battle, "ad quintum a Bedriaco lapide
that they did not dare to attack the camp on the sa
but hoped for a voluntary surrender (cap. 45).

31-32. οἱ περὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν ἡττημένοι πρότερον ἐπ
in the battle near the temple of Castor. See cap. 7,
ad loc.

34. ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτόν. All this Tacitus omits a
nothing to do with the general result. He only says
paulisper detenti."

40. μετάνοια Τιτιανὸν ἔσχεν, κ.τ.λ. The prolonged

reconstruct the battle with anything like the clearness with which Tacitus' statement enables us to understand that at the temple of Castor.

4. ἀνωμαλίαν, 'irregularity.' It was not a 'iustum proelium,' with the exception of the duel between the two legions XXI. Rapax and I. Adiutrix.

4–5. Ἐμοὶ δὲ ὕστερον ἐδιήτησε διὰ τοῦ πεδίου. We know from a number of passages in Plutarch's writings that he had been in Italy, and probably on more than one occasion. One visit at least was paid during Vespasian's reign, and so within about ten years of the battle. For in describing an incident which he himself witnessed at Rome, he says (*De Sollert. Animal.* cap. 19) "παρῆν γὰρ ὁ γέρων Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐν τῷ Μαρκέλλου θεάτρῳ." On another occasion he was lecturing at Rome, when Arulenus Rusticus was present, and received a message from the emperor (probably Domitian) during the lecture, which he refused to attend to until Plutarch had finished (*De Curiosit.* c. 15). Allusions to what he saw in Rome are made also in *vit. Marcell.* cap. 3; *Public.* c. 8; *Flamin.* 1.

5. Μέστριος Φλῶρος. Mestrius Florus was one of the literary men at Rome, whose acquaintance Plutarch made during his visits there. He is one of the interlocutors in a dialogue contained among the Quaestiones Conviviales (*Sympos.* viii. 2. 4; conf. also vii. 4). He was an antiquarian (φιλαρχαίος, *Sympos.* vii. 4), and something of a philologist. Suetonius has an amusing story (*Vespas.* 22): "Et tamen nonnulla eius facetissima exstant in quibus et haec. Mestrium Florum consularem, admonitus ab eo *plaustra* potius quam *plostra* dicenda, die postero *Flaurum* salutavit." Plutarch clearly travelled through Gallia Cisalpina in the company of Florus, who was probably his companion, when he saw the statue of Marius at Ravenna, which he mentions (*Mar.* cap. 2: "τῆς δὲ ὄψεως τῆς Μαρίου λιθίνην εἰκόνα κειμένην ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ τῆς Γαλατίας ἐθεώμεθα."

6. τῶν τότε μὴ κατὰ γνώμην, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκῃ, κ.τ.λ. 'He was one of those whom Otho had compelled to accompany the expedition from Rome.' See Tac. *Hist.* i. 88, "Multos e magistratibus, magnam consularium partem Otho non participes aut ministros bello, sed comitum specie secum expedire iubet."

7–8. νεὼν ὄντα παλαιὸν ἐπιδείξας, 'pointing to an ancient temple.' Very likely the temple of Castor mentioned by Tacitus as being near the scene of the former battle.

NOTES.

9–10. ὥστε τοὺς ἐπικολῆς ἅπτεσθαι τῶν ἀετῶν. 'So those on the top reached to the pediments of the ten ἐπικολῆς, the gen. case is usually employed as an adve preposition. Conf. *Hdt.* ii. 63, "*ἐπικολῆς δὲ ἕκαστι αὐ ἄλλῳχριον*," and *Thuc.* vi. 96, "*ὠνόμασται δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐπικολ ἄλλον εἶναι Ἐπικολαί.*"

10. τῶν ἀετῶν. The *ἀετοί* or *ἀετώματα* were the pedi or gable-shaped structures with which the two narrow of the Greek temple were surmounted (= Lat. fast *ἀετῶν* is the excellent emendation of Coraes for the MS. ing *ἐναντίων*, of which it is impossible to make satisfa sense. He also suggests that in another passage of Plu (*Mor.* p. 816. 46) we should read, instead of *ἐν τοῖς ἐναντία μετεώρου, ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς τοῦ μεγάρου*, as he is speaking of a which Pausanias calls *Διονύσου μέγαρον*. Conf. Paus. viii.

τὴν αἰτίαν, *i.e.* of there being so many killed. Ta describes the appearance of the battlefield as Vitellius hi saw it forty days later (*Hist.* ii. 70), "Intra quadringesi pugnae diem lacera corpora, trunci artus, putres vir equorumque formae, infecta tabe humus, protritis arbo ac frugibus dira vastitas." Conf. also Suet. *Vitell.* 9, "U campos, in quibus pugnatum est, adiit, abhorrentes quo cadaverum tabem detestabili voce confirmare ausus optime olere occisum hostem." Dio Cassius (64. 10) s that "*τέσσαρες μυριάδες ἐκατέρωθεν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πρὸ Κρεμώνῃ γενομέναις ἔπεσον.*"

14. χρῆσθαι γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς ἁλισκομένοις. Conf. *Hist.* ii. 44, "neque enim bellis civilibus capti in pra vertuntur."

15. ἡ δ' ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο σωρεία, κ.τ.λ. 'But such a pilir and heaping together has a cause which it is not easy to i

CHAPTER XV.

1. Τῷ δὲ Ὄθωνι πρῶτον μὲν ἀσαφής, κ.τ.λ. Tac. ii "Opperiebatur Otho nuntium pugnae nequaquam trepid consilii certus. Maesta primum fama, dein profugi e pr perditas res patefaciunt."

4. τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἧττον ἄν τις ἐθαύμασεν, κ.τ.λ. would have been less surprised at his friends bidding hin to despair but to be of good courage, but the passionate tion of the soldiers exceeded all belief.' Tac., "non expec militum ardor vocem imperatoris: bonum haberet ani

iubebant," etc. There is not really much cause for surprise at the fidelity of the praetorians. Otho was the emperor of their election, and it was not difficult to predict what their fate would be if Vitellius conquered. As a matter of fact, they were disbanded by him (Tac. ii. 67): "Separati primum, deinde addito honestae missionis lenimento arma ad tribunos suos deferebant."

6. ἀπαγορεύειν. Conf. Plat. *Repub.* 368 c. "δέδοικα γὰρ μὴ οὐδ' ἔστιν ᾧ παραγενόμενον δικαιοσύνῃ κατηγορουμένῃ ἀπαγορεύειν καὶ μὴ βοηθεῖν."

7. οὐκ ἀπῆλθεν οὐδέλς. On the contrary, they assured him 'ipsos extrema passuros ausuroque.' So, too, Suetonius, *Oth.* 9 *ad fin.* "ne victis quidem adeo adflictis ut non in ultionem ignominiae quidvis discriminis ultro et vel solae subirent."

8. τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν, 'his own safety.'

9. ἀπεγνωσμένον, 'being given up in despair.' Conf. Demost. *Olynth.* iii. 33, and Xen. *Hellen.* vii. 5. 7, "τὸ μὲν κατὰ γῆν πορεύεσθαι ἀπεγνωκέναι." Dio Cassius gives a similar account of the feelings of the soldiers, 64. 12: ἐφίλουν τε τὸν Ὄθωνα, καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ εὔνοιαν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς γλώττης μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς εἶχον."

12–13. ἐδέοντο μὴ σφᾶς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, κ.τ.λ. Conf. Dio Cass. 64. 14, "καὶ δάκρυσί τε ἐκλαιον καὶ ἐθρήνουν πατέρα τε ἀνακαλοῦντες καὶ παίδων καὶ γονέων φίλτερον ὀνομάζοντες." Tacitus makes Plotius Firmus, one of the 'praefecti praetorii,' a spokesman for the rest. "Is praetorii praefectus identidem orabat, ne fidelissimum exercitum, ne optima meritos milites desereret." It was not only the praetorians, 'proprius Othonis miles,' who showed this enthusiasm, but the detachments from the various legions as well.

16. Εἷς δὲ τῶν ἀφανεστέρων ἀνατείνας τὸ ξίφος, κ.τ.λ. Tacitus does not mention this circumstance, though he, like Plutarch and Suetonius, relates that many of the soldiers killed themselves after Otho's death (see below). Suetonius relates the incident, but in quite a different form, on the authority of his own father, Suetonius Laenis, who had been present in the war as tribune of the 13th legion (cap. 10): "Tunc ad despiciendam vitam exemplo manipularis militis concitatum, qui, quum cladem exercitus nuntiaret, nec cuiquam fidem faceret, ac nunc mendacii nunc timoris, quasi fugisset ex acie, argueretur, gladio ante pedes eius incubuerit." Dio Cassius (64. 11) follows this version, though he says that the man was ἱππεύς τις. Tacitus narrates a similar incident in connection with Agrestis, a centurion of Vitellius (*Hist.* iii. 54).

τῶν ἀφανεσ

17. οὕτως ὑ
die for you."

19. οὐδὲν ἐκέ
inter voces ut f
et gemitus."

καθεστῶτι, 'co
1003, "πνεῦμα κα
viii. 7, "ἐκ δὲ τῶ
τοῦ ἐξαγγείλοντ τή
ὥσπερ ἰατρικαὶ τυχὸ

19-20. φαιδρῷ
he was "placidus
cheerful and compos

21. ὃ στρατιώτ
to the soldiers. Su
aut in contione, aut p
appellabat, and milite
suis imperio praeditis,
id existimans, quam au
aut sua domusque suae
apparently observed by
Chaudian line, the empe
the army. Galba twice
(Suet. *Galb.* 20, and T
Panegyr. 15, "Quotus en
milito quam imperator?"

The speech which Pluta
not agree either with that i
No doubt all these are inver
How far Tacitus in his sp
actually said, even where h
evidence, is shown by a comp
on the subject of admitting
honorum' as given in *Ann.* xi
the real speech discovered at
perley's edition of the *Annal*
speech as reported by Tacitus i
Cassius I transcribe (64, 13),
Μισῶ πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον, κἂν κρατῶ
μὴ ἁμαλογῶσί μοι. Νικάτω Βιτέλλι
σωζέσθωσαν καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου στρατιῶτα
γὰρ σὺν καὶ κρεῖττον καὶ δικαιότερό
πολλοὶ ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς ἀπολέσθαι. Καὶ
καὶ Καίσαρος καὶ Ῥηγούλου μᾶλλον ἂν

καὶ Σύλλας ... γενέσθαι. Μὴ οὖν βιάσησθέ με ἵνα τούτων ὧν μεσῶ γενέσθαι· μήτε φθονήσητέ μοι ἵνα ἐκείνων ὧν ἐπαινῶ μιμήσασθαι. Ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν κεκρατηκότα ἄπιτε, καὶ ἐκεῖνον θεραπεύετε· ἐγὼ δ' αὐτὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἐλευθερώσω, ὅπως καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἅπαντες ἄνθρωποι μάθωσιν, ὅτι τοιοῦτον αὐτοκράτορα εἵλεσθε ὅστις οὐχ ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔδωκε."

23–24. τηλικούτων ἀξιούμενος, 'being deemed worthy of sacrifices so great.'

24. Ἀλλὰ μὴ μείζονος ἀποστερεῖτε, κ.τ.λ. 'But do not deprive me of what is greater still, a noble death on behalf of so many and such generous citizens.' There is a note of resemblance here to a sentence of the speech in Dio Cassius. See above.

27. δεῖ με τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ὑπὲρ, κ.τ.λ. Dio Cassius puts this in a more concrete form by means of the examples of Curtius, Decius, Regulus, etc.

28. Οἶδα τὴν νίκην τοῖς ἐναντίοις οὔτε βεβαίαν, κ.τ.λ. Possibly the news had not yet arrived of the surrender of the camp at Bedriacum and the transfer of the soldiers' allegiance to Vitellius. At any rate after that had taken place, Otho's cause was irretrievably lost, as the legions from Moesia and Dalmatia, together with the praetorians who still remained with Otho, would have been no match for the victorious German legions.

29–30 Ἀπαγγέλλουσι τὴν ἐκ Μυσίας ... δύναμιν, κ.τ.λ. Conf. Tac. ii. 46, "Sed praemissi e Moesia eandem obstinationem adventantis exercitus, legiones Aquileiam ingressas nuntiabant, ut nemo dubitet potuisse renovari bellum atrox, lugubre, incertam victis et victoribus."

31. ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν, *i.e.* to Aquileia at the head of the Adriatic.

31–32. Ἀσία καὶ Συρία καὶ Αἴγυπτος καὶ τὰ πολεμοῦντα Ἰουδαίους. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 76, "Longinquae provinciae et quidquid armorum mari dirimitur penes Othonem manebat, non partium studio, sed erat grande momentum in nomine urbis ac praetexto senatus et occupaverat animos prior auditus. Iudaicum exercitum Vespasianus, Syriae legiones Mucianus sacramento Othonis adegere; simul Aegyptus omnesque versae in Orientem provinciae nomine eius tenebantur."

Ἀσία, here, as often, is not the province but Asia Minor as a whole. We know that Otho gave certain fresh privileges to Cappadocia (Tac. *Hist.* i. 78). Galatia and Pamphylia were the charge of Calpurnius Asprenas appointed by Galba (*Hist. ii. 9*), but these provinces would no doubt do as the great

2–3. τούς τε φίλους ἑκάστων ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 48, "Talia locutus, ut cuique aetas aut dignitas, comiter appellatos, irent propere neu remanendo iram victoris asperarent."

4–5. τοῖς δὲ μὴ παροῦσιν ἐπίστελλε καὶ γράμματα. There seems no reason why Otho should have written these letters only for those who were absent, as the others would equally need assistance on their journey. Tacitus has "dari naves ac vehicula abeuntibus iubet," which clearly means that he sent orders to the sea-port towns to supply ships, and to inland places to send them on by means of the 'cursus publicus.' I believe that the common authority also used the word 'abeuntibus,' and that Plutarch has mistranslated this by τοῖς μὴ παροῦσιν. The reason why Otho sent letters, instead of giving the usual diplomata, was because these diplomata became useless on the death of the emperor. So when a false report was spread afterwards that Otho was not really dead, Tacitus says (ii. 54), "Causa fingendi fuit, ut diplomata Othonis quae neglegebantur laetiore nuntio revalescerent."

5. παρακομισθῶσιν, 'might be forwarded along their routes.'

6. Προσαγόμενος, 'causing to be brought.'

7. τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν Κοκκήϊον. This was Salvius Cocceianus (not Cocceius), a son of Titianus. He escaped the anger of Vitellius, but fell a victim about 20 years later to the suspicion of Domitian, "quod Othonis imperatoris patrui sui diem natalem celebraverat."

8. μὴ δεδιέναι Οὐϊτελλίου, κ.τ.λ. Conf. Tac. ii. 48, "Mox Salvium Cocceianum, fratris filium prima iuventa, trepidum et maerentem ultro solatus est laudando pietatem eius, castigando formidinem: an Vitellium tam inmitis animi fore, ut pro incolumi tota domo ne hanc quidem sibi gratiam redderet?"

9. οὐ καὶ μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκ', κ.τ.λ. Conf. *supra*, cap. 5, "Ἰσχυρῶς δὲ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπεμελήθη τοῦ Οὐϊτελλίου καὶ τῆς γυναικός."

10. διαφυλάξαι, optative.

11. οὐδὲ θέσθαι παῖδα βουλόμενος αὐτὸν. Tacitus says nothing of any idea on Otho's part to adopt his nephew. Suetonius indeed says that he had had a marriage in view (*Oth.* 10), "Binos codicillos exaravit ad sororem consolatorios, sed et ad Messalinam Neronis quam matrimonio destinaverat, commendans reliquias suas et memoriam." After ἀναβαλέσθαι the mss. have the words μνημονεύων ὅτι Καίσαρ ἐθέτο. The origin of this interpolation is clear. The scribe had by

mistake missed out a line of the MS. he was copying, and going on to *μνημονεύειν ὅτι Καίσαρα θεῖον ἔσχες*. He had ceeded as far as *Καίσαρ* when he discovered his mistake, so wrote above the words *ἀθέτει* (erase), and then went to the right line. These words afterwards became inse in the text. Conf. the similar mistake in *Galb.* 9 *ad fin.*

12. ὅπως συνάρχοι. The mere adoption would not inv any co-imperium, unless the tribunicial power were granted by the senate.

14. παρεγγυῶμαι. The word is often used of passing watchword, and of military exhortations in general. C Xen. *Cyrop.* 3. 3. 42, and Plut. *vit. Camill.* 37. Tr "This is my last exhortation to you."

15. μήτε ἐπιλαθίσθαι παντάπασι, κ.τ.λ. Tacitus gives the same words, "Proinde erecto animo capesseret vi neu patruum sibi Othonem fuisse aut oblivisceretur unq aut nimium meminisset." It was the neglect of this ad though in a harmless way, which caused his death.

18–19. Οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται τῶν συγκλητικῶν τοῖς ἁπα κ.τ.λ. Tacitus, cap. 49, "Atque illum supremas iam c animo volutantem repens tumultus avertit nuntiata con natione ac licentia militum: namque abeuntibus exi minitabantur, atrocissima in Verginium vi, quem clausa d obsidebant"; also Suet. *Oth.* 11.

20. τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καταλιπόντες. Suetonius says they were seized and detained 'quasi desertores.'

23. ἀλλὰ τραχὺς ὀφθείς, "increpitis seditionis auctoril Tacitus. According to Suetonius, Otho changed his inter of immediate death, saying, "adiiciamus vitae et noctem," and received the farewells of his followers, hir seeing that they departed in safety. *Oth.* 11, and Ta 49, "Vacavit abeuntium adloquiis, donec omnes invi digrederentur."

CHAPTER XVII.

1–2. πιὼν ὀλίγον ὕδατος. Tac., "sitim haustu gel aquae sedavit."

2. δυεῖν ὄντων αὐτῷ ξιφῶν, κ.τ.λ. Tac., "Tum ad pugionibus duobus, cum utrumque pertemptasset, alte capiti subdidit." With this Suetonius agrees, "Adri duos pugiones et explorata utriusque acie, cum alterum vino subdidisset," etc.

3. τὸ σπάσμα (σπάω), 'that which is drawn,' and so the blade.

4. ἐκ τῆς ἀγκάλης ἀναλαβὼν. Tacitus and Plutarch make the choice of the dagger Otho's last act before retiring to rest, and accordingly say that he put it under his pillow. Plutarch on the other hand makes the distribution of money follow, and so represents Otho as holding the dagger in his arms while he does this.

5–6. διένειμε τῶν χρημάτων, κ.τ.λ. Tacitus, by the connection in which he mentions it, seems to imply that the money was given to the senators and other friends on their departure (c. 48). Suetonius, however, agrees with Plutarch, "Divisit et pecunias domesticis ex copia praesenti."

6–7. οὐχ ὥσπερ ἀλλοτρίων ἀφειδῶν, 'not lavishing it, as if it no longer belonged to him.' Conf. Tacitus, "parce, nec ut periturus."

7. τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν, 'the deserts of each.'

10. τοῖς κατευναστάς, 'his chamberlains.' Conf. *vit. Alex.* 40.

βαθέως αὐτοῦ καθεύδοντος. Tac., "noctem quietam, utque adfirmatur, non insomnem egit." Suet. "artissimo somno quievit."

12. μαθεῖν προσέταξε, 'he ordered him to learn their fate.'

13. πυθόμενος γεγονέναι τοῖς ἀπερχομένοις, κ.τ.λ., 'hearing that each of those who had departed had received what he desired.'

16–17. ὡς ἐμοὶ συμπράξας τὸν θάνατον, 'as having helped to cause my death,' as Epaphroditus, *e.g.*, assisted Nero (Suet. *Ner.* 49). None of these particulars are mentioned by Tacitus or Suetonius, though both say that he killed himself at dawn. Tac., "luce prima in ferrum pectore incubuit." Suet., "circa lucem demum expergefactus uno se traiecit ictu infra laevam papillam."

19. ὅσον ἅπαξ στενάξαι, κ.τ.λ., 'he just felt the pain long enough to utter a single groan': see note on cap. 12 *ad fin.* "ὅσον ἐν χερσὶ γενέσθαι."

20. τοῖς ἐκτὸς αἰσθησιν παρέσχεν. Tac., "Ad gemitum morientis ingressi liberti servique et Plotius Firmus praetorii praefectus unum vulnus invenere."

24. περιπαθοῦντες, 'in their excess of grief.'

24–25. λοιδορούμενοι ἑαυτοὺς μὴ φυλάξαντας, 'reproaching themselves with not having,' etc.

37. ὅσῳ ἄνων τῶν πάλαι, "than

38. ἔξοδος δὲ τοῦ ἔαρος. Tac.,

ἀπόλαυσιν τῆ μοναρχίᾳ μᾶλλον
futurum. Plures eorum praetorium
et hastilia."

οἱ ῥᾴστως, "those who got there first."

39. οἱ μὲν τὸ πρῶτον — ἐπιμίξασιν, c.r.

39-42. οὐδὲν ἀδίκημα οὔτε πατρώδους
ἄδικον. Tacitus puts it more obscurely, "
inita regnum inhibuerunt ne, non nova neque
37. 'Αλλ' ὅσων μᾶλλον, c.r.λ. 'But no
omni ever to have had a love of power so
so passionate, as was the desire of those mili
be ruled by Otho. So Dio Cassius says (64, 12)
"ὁ τε μόγιστος δὴ τοῖς στασιώταις δοὺς, ἅμιλλαν τε
νίκων αὐτῷ εἶναι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γλιχτῆς μόνον ἐξ
ψυχῆς εἶχεν."

40-42. οἵς γε μηδ' ἀναβιώσαντος ὁ πόθος, c.r.λ.,
after his death, regret for his loss never left them
on, and ended in an ineradicable hatred for Vitell
regard to the praetorians Tacitus says (ii. 67),
Vitellio e praetoris cohortibus metus erat. Separa
deinde adiito bonestae minimis lenimento, arma a
suos referebant, donec motum a Vespasiano belli
fuere." tum resumpta militia, robur Flaviarum
The same spirit was apparent in the legions
(c. 60), "Angebat Vitellium victarum legionum hand
fractus animus. Spurnae per Italiam et victoribus p
hostilis aequebantur," and we find (c. 60) that th
"praecipua in Vitellium alienatio per Illyricos exe
and accordingly these legions all side with Vespasian
war which followed.

CHAPTER XVIII.

2-3. οὔτε μεγέθει σήματος οὔτ' ἐπιγραφῆς ὄγκῳ, c.r.λ. T
tius says (c. 49), "Othoni sepulcrum exstructum est modic
et mansurum." Conf. also Suet. *Vitell.* 10, "Pari vanitate
insolentia lapidem memoriae Othonis inscriptum intuens
dignum eo Mausoleo—ait."

4. **Εἶδον δὲ ἐν Βριξέλλῳ γενόμενος.** On Plutarch's tour through this part of Italy see on cap. 14.

6. **εἰ μεταφρασθείη.** 'if it were interpreted.' Conf. Plut. *vit. Cat. Mai.* 19; *vit. Cic.* 40.

6–7. **Δαίμοσι Μάρκου Ὄθωνος.** If the MS. reading Δηλώσει is correct, it would be 'for the pointing out of Marcus Otho.' But it is difficult to see of what Latin formula this could be the translation. It could hardly be 'Memoriae M. Othonis,' as δηλώσει would not be the natural rendering of this, and, besides, this form of dedication was not in use before the end of the 2nd century. See Wilm. 244. Lobeck, with some plausibility, conjectured Δαίμοσι, *i.e.* Dis Manibus, which, of course, was the most common formula on funeral inscriptions.

7–8. **ἔτη μὲν ἐντὰ καὶ τριάκοντα.** Tacitus says he was in his thirty-seventh year; Suetonius in his thirty-eighth. The former is right, for he was born April 28, 32 A.D. See Suet. *Oth.* 2.

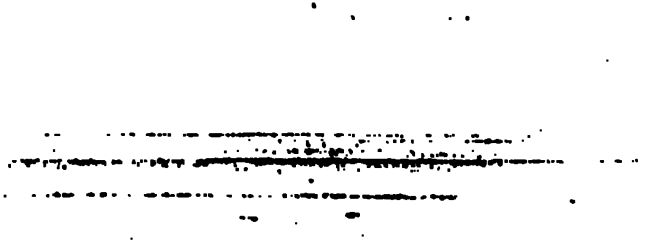
8. **ἄρξας δὲ τρεῖς μῆνας.** Suet. "nonagesimo et quinto imperii die." Otho's reign dates from Jan. 15, on which day Galba was killed. He died on April 16, *i.e.* on the ninety-second day. The news, however, did not reach Rome till the 19th (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 55), and Suetonius seems to have dated the reign up to that time.

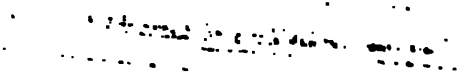
8–9. **ἀπολιπὼν δὲ μὴ χείρονας, κ.τ.λ.** 'Leaving behind him as many and as respectable men who praised his death as there were who reprobated his life.' Conf. Suet. *Oth.* 12, "Denique magna pars hominum incolumem gravissime detestata, mortuum laudibus tulit," also Tacitus, c. 50, "duobus facinoribus, altero flagitiosissimo, altero egregio, tantundem apud posteros meruit bonae famae quantum malae." Dio Cass. 64. 15, "Κάκιστα μὲν ἀνθρώπων ζήσας κάλλιστα ἀπέθανεν."

11. **οὐδὲν ἐπαικέστερον Νέρωνος.** Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 13, "gratus Neroni aemulatione luxus," also Plut. *Galb.* 19, "Φίλῳ δὲ τῷ Ὄθωνι καὶ συμβιωτῇ διὰ τὴν ἀσωτίαν ἐχρῆτο."

12–13. **Πολλίωνος τοῦ ἑτέρου τῶν ἐπάρχων.** The two praefects were Licinius Proculus, on whose fate see note on cap. 13, and Plotius Firmus (see note on cap. 3. 37, and conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 46). That Plotius was with Otho at the time of his death we know from Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 46 and 49). No doubt, therefore, Πολλίωνος is a mistake for Πλωτίου.

14. **ἐυσχέραινον.** Tacitus says (c. 51), "in funere eius novata luctu ac dolore militum seditio, nec erat qui coerceret," but does not mention its being caused by the attempt to make them take the oath of allegiance to Vitellius.





APPENDIX.

FACTS ATTESTED OR INFERRED FROM COINS AND INSCRIPTIONS.

1. *The Rising of Clodius Macer in Africa.*—See notes to Plut. *Galb.* 6 and 13. See coins in Cohen, vol. i. p. 317.

   2. Clodi Macri S(enatus) C(onsulto).

   R). Leg(io) I. Lib(eratrix) Macriana.

   6. L. Clodi Macri Liberatrix S. C.

   R). Leg. III. Lib. Aug.

   13. L. Clodius Macer S. C.

   R). Proprae. Africae.

2. *Galba's connection with Livia Augusta.*—See note to *Galb.* 3. Cohen, i. p. 320.

   11. Ser. Galba Imp. Caes. Aug. P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunicia) P(otestate).

   R). Augusta S. C., with a figure of Livia veiled, and holding a patera and sceptre.

   43. Galba imp.

   R). Diva Augusta.

3. *Galba's Proclamation in Spain and Gaul.*—Cohen, i. Galba.

   75–79. Galba Imperator.

   R). Hispania.

   73. Galba Imp.

   R). Gallia Hispania, with figures of Gaul and Spain, represented by two females joining hands.

   72. Ser. Galba Imp.

   R). Gallia, with figure of Gaul between two spears and two swords.

   307. Ser. Galba Imp.

   R). Tres Galliae.

4. *Galba's Retirement to Clunia.*—See note to *Gal*
i. Galba.

86. Ser. Sulp. Galba Imp. Caes. Aug. P.
R). Hispania Clunia Sul(picia) S. C.

Also an Inscription belonging to Clunia i
2779, in which Ser. Galba Imperator is alon

5. *Galba's Release of the Empire from Nero's*
Cohen, i. Galba.

59 and 161, etc., Ser. Galba Imp. Caes. Aug.
R). Ex S. C. ob cives servatos.
365. Hercules Adsertor.
R). Florente fortuna P(opuli) R

Also a number of coins with the following
Libertas restituta (132-135, etc.), Libertas pu
Libertas P. R. (106), Roma renascens (195, etc
publica (67), Salus generis humani (232), Sen
Augusti (280), Victoria Galbae Aug. (317).

All these coins show the expectations ar
the intentions of Galba to grant a more co
government.

Conf. also C. I. L. vi. 471 "Imaginum domus

These primarily refer to the general recognition of Galba after Nero's death.

350. Concordia Provinciarum

and 1. Ser. Galba Imp. Caesar Aug.

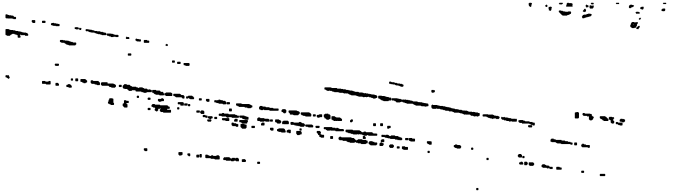
R). Adlocutio [illegible] Galba [illegible] on [illegible] with the [illegible] by [illegible] the [illegible].

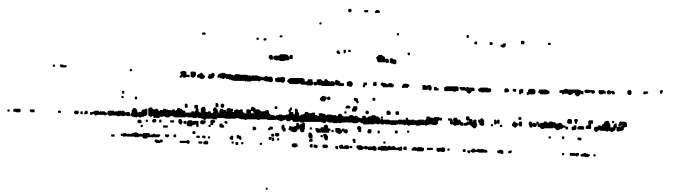
These primarily [illegible] into Rome after the failure of [illegible] to corrupt the praetorians.

See also Wiseman [illegible] which proves that Galba [illegible] eventually [illegible] hastily got together. [illegible] organisation [illegible] decisive for Galba. [illegible] —

"Ser. Galba Imperator Caesar Augustus [illegible] [illegible]

These military diplomas [illegible] and the Roman [illegible] have served for 25 years [illegible] with the auxiliary troops [illegible] grant. [illegible] not originally [illegible]. But [illegible] just been formed of [illegible] and [illegible] received the privileges [illegible] legionaries. [illegible] like any other [illegible]. While the [illegible] citizenship was granted was engraved in [illegible] in the Capitol, a copy of it was [illegible] given to each soldier [illegible] Diomedes, the Phrygian. [illegible]





On *Jan. 8* took place the indictio of the sacrifice to the Dea Dia in the temple of Concord. (See Marquardt, iii. p. 452.)

"Isdem consulibus VI. Idus Ianua(rias) in aedem Concordiae astantibus fratribus Arvalibus magisterio Ser. Galbae imp. Caes. Aug. promagistro L. Salvio Othone Titiano collegio fratrum Arvalium nomine sacrificium Deae Diae indictum, praeeunte L. Maecio Postumo.

On *Jan. 10*, in connection with the adoption of Piso, we get the following:

"Isdem consulibus III. idus Ianuar. adoptio facta L. Liciniani, magisterio Ser. Galbae imp. Caes. Aug. promagistro L. Salvio Othone Titiano, collegi fratrum Arvalium nomine immolatum in Capitolio ob adoptionem Ser. Sulpicii Galbae Caesaris, Iovi bovem, Iunoni vaccam, Minervae vaccam, saluti publicae populi Romani vaccam ... Genio ipsius taurum," etc. (See notes to *Galb.* 23.)

On *Jan. 16*, the day after Galba's death, the accession of Otho is celebrated.

[The first lines are wanting] "XVII. K(alendas) Februar(ias) magisterio imp. M. Othonis Caesaris Augusti promagister L. Salvius Otho Titianus collegi fratrum Arvalium nomine immolavit in Capitolio ob imperium imp. Othonis Caes. Aug. Iovi b(ovem) m(arem)," etc. (See notes to *Galb.* 28.)

On *Jan. 26* Otho enters on the consulship. (See Tac. *Hist.* i. 77.)

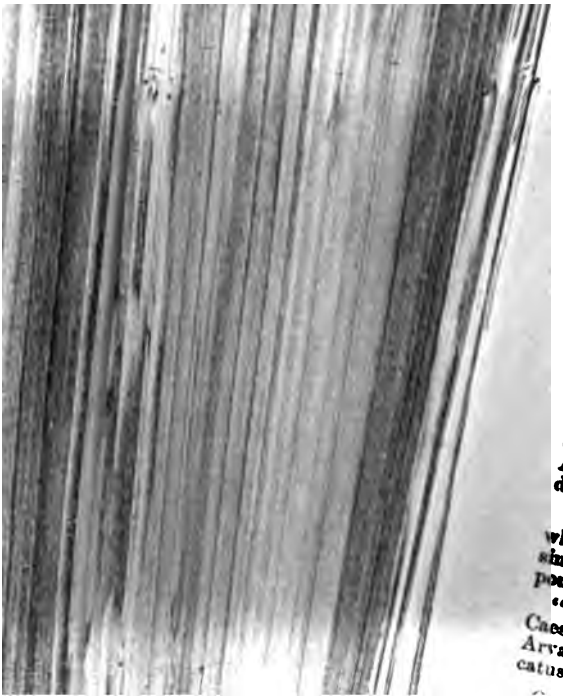
"VII. K(alendas) Febr(uarias) magister imperator Otho Caes. Aug. promagister L. Salvius Otho Titianus collegi fratrum Arvalium nomine immolavit in Capitolio ob comitia consularia Othonis Caes. Aug." etc.

On *Jan. 30*, the nuncupatio votorum for the new emperor. (See Plut. *Galb.* 28.)

"Imperatore M. Othone Caes. Aug. L. Salvio Othone Titiano II. cons. III. Kal. Febr. magistro imperat. M. Othone Caes. Aug. promagistro L. Salvio Othone Titiano collegio fratrum Arvalium nomine immolavit ob vota nuncupata pro salute imperatoris M. Othonis Caes. Aug. in annum proximum in III. nonas Ianuarias," etc.

Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 77: "Consul cum Titiano fratre in kalendas Martias ipse."

On *Feb. 23*, the tribunicia potestas was formally conferred on Otho. It was decreed by the senate immediately after Galba's death (Tac. *Hist.* i. 47), but a vote of the comitia was apparently necessary for this, as well as for the post of Pontifex Maximus.



On *April 30*, the comitia for Vitellius' tribunicia potestas. In this case the comitia seem to have followed close upon the decree of the senate. See Tac. *Hist.* ii. 55, "In senatu cuncta longis aliorum principatibus composita statim decernuntur."

"T. Flavio Sabino, Cn. Aruleno Caelio Sabino consulibus pridie Kal. Maias ob comitia tribuniciae potestatis ///// Germanici imper.." etc. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 71, "Ut Valenti et Caecinae vacuos honoris menses aperiret, coarctati aliorum consulatus."

On *May 1*, a sacrifice to celebrate the 'dies imperii' of Vitellius, which, as was usually the case, dated from the formal recognition of the senate on April 19. The battle of Bedriacum was fought on the 15th; Otho died on the 16th, and the news reached Rome on the 19th. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 55, "At Romae nihil trepidationis: Ceriales ludi ex more spectabantur." The last and principal day of the Cerialia was April 19.

"Isdem consulibus Kal. Maias ob diem imperi //// Germanici imperatoris, quod XIII. Kal. Maias statutum est magisterio Vitellio Germ. imp. promagistro L. Maecio Postumo," etc.

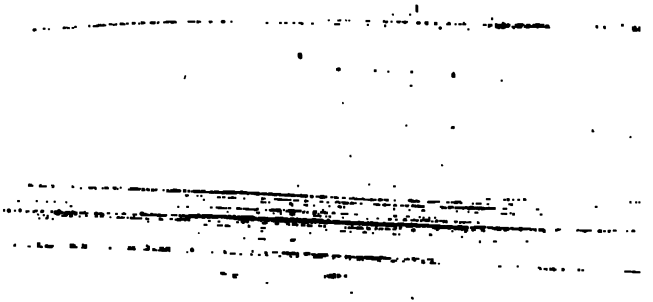
It is to be observed that Vitellius both in his coins and on inscriptions is always called imperator Germanicus, sometimes, but not always, Augustus, and never Caesar. With this conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 59, "Nomen Germanici Vitellio statim additum: Caesarem appellari etiam victor prohibuit," and ii. 62, "Praemisit in urbem edictum quo vocabulum Augusti differret, Caesaris non reciperet."

For the *éclat* which Vitellius derived from the high honours held by his father, see Cohen i. Vitellius—

54. A. Vitellius Germ. Imp. Aug. Tr. Pot.

R). L. Vitellius Cos. III. Censor.

and conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 52, "Vitellio tres patris consulatus, censuram, collegium Caesaris et imponere iamdudum imperatoris dignitatem, et auferre privati securitatem," and Plut. *Galb.* 22.



Bedriacum, xcvii; battle of, cii foll., 253 foll., 265; site of, 238, 244.
βιβλία, 200.
Bracata Gallia, 236.
Brixellum, 228, 250.

Caecina, march of, 225; character of, 236.
Callistus, 125.
Calvisius Sabinus, 134.
Camillus, 205.
Camurius, 198.
Catalogue of Lampriae, ix, xxviii, 91.
Cato, 262.
Catulus, 95.
Chaldaei, 184.
χιλιάρχοι, 129.
χορήγημα, 249.
χορηγία, 85.
χρεωφειλέτης, 118.
Cingonius Varro, 143.
civitas, Roman, conferred on Gallic states, 158.
Clason, his view on the relation between Tacitus and Plutarch, xxiv.
classiarii, 147.
Clodius Macer, lxx, 109, 146.
Clunia, 114.
Cluvius Rufus, xlvii foll.; not the authority followed by Plutarch, xlix foll.; conversation with Verginius Rufus, li; career of, 212.
Coccianus, 270.
cohort XVII. at Ostia, 214.
cohortes urbanae, 215: equitatae, 259.
coinage of Galba, 168, 204.
comitia of 17 tribes, 209.
commendatio to priestly offices, 209.
consulship, mode of appointment to, 96, 209; of new emperors, 206.
Corbulo, death of, lxii.
corn magazines, 224.
Cremona, 237.
Crispina, 156.
cursus publicus, 121.

δαίμων, 131.
Dalmatia, legions of, 191, 219, 245.
damnatio memoriae, 123.
δεδιττόμενοι, 138.
δεκάζειν, 170.
delatores, 124.
Demades, 87.
δημοτικόν, 133, 208.
διάγγελοι, 186.
διάπωσις, 248.
διαφορεῖν, 98.
διασκευασάμενοι, 216.
διασπασμός, 256.
διαστρατηγεῖν, 86.
διατεθρυμμένοι, 189.
διεκάησαν, 234.
dies imperii, 129.
Dio Cassius, relation to Plutarch, etc., lix.
Dionysius of Syracuse, 88.
διόπτηροι, 186.
διοσημία, 182.
diplomata, 121, 213.
Dolabella, 179.
donatives, 92.
drachma equal to denarius, 91.

Egypt, 269.
ἐλευθέρωσις, 104.
ἐμβάλλειν, 194.
emperors, power of, in judicial matters, 145; appointment of, by army, 248.
ἐμφόλιος, 204.
ἐναμπέχειν, 231.
ἐναργία, 96.
ἔναρχος, 90.
ἐφήμεροι, 151.
ἐπίκλησις, 257.
ἐπιθυσώμεθα, 143.

,career of, 136; death of, 199
Curtius, 197.
σαργία, 249.
κος, 197.
θεραγωγήσεσθαι, 108.
tus legionis, 258.
io I. Adiutrix, 150, 257; XV., 198; XXI. Rapax, 257.
legionaries, always Roman citizens, 148.
legions, names of, 257.
lex Domitia, 209.
λειτών, 232.
Lusitania, province of, 167.

manumissio per vindictam, 104.
Marcius Macer, 251.
marines, meeting of, 147, 149.
Marius Celsus, career of, 192, 200, 207, 261.
Martialis, 190.
Mauricus, 124.
Mestrius Florus, x, xxxvi, 254, 264.
μετέωρος, 138.
miliarium aureum, 188.
military diplomata, 150.
missio honesta, 150.
μισθοφόρος, 85, 214.
μνησικακεῖν, 212.
Moesia, legions of, 191, 245.
Mogontiacum, 175.
Mommsen, his view on the relation between Tacitus and Plutarch, xxv, lii; as to the aims of Vindex, lxviii; to praefectus urbi, 226; as to the Othonian march from Bedriacum, 254.
μονομάχος, 123, 258.
Mucianus, 140; career of, 220.
Marcus, 199.

Narbo, 132.
Nero, jealousy of provincial governors, lxii; hears of Galba's revolt, lxix.
Neronian exiles recalled, 210.
Nissen, his view on the relation between Tacitus and Plutarch, xxv, liii; as to treasonable designs of Paulinus, 249.
νόμιμος, 257.
νόμισμα, 168.
νουμηνία, 173.
Numidian horsemen, 255.
Nymphidius Sabinus, lxxii, 90.

oath, annual, to the emperor, 173, 201; military, 179.
ὀχήματα, 122.
Octavia, 142, 164.
οἰνοφλυγία, 249.
Onomastus, 185.
optiones, 185.
Ostia, voyage from, to Tarraco, 115; mutiny of cohort from, 215.
Otho proclaimed emperor, lxxxiv; death of, cvi; early career of, 163; relation to Poppaea, 164; difficult position of, 208; changed behaviour of, 218; generals of, 229, 243; disposition of troops, 232; his impatience for the battle, 246; withdraws to Brixellum, 250; reference to, in Martial, 262; in Juvenal, 250; speech of, in Dio Cassius, 267; intended adoption of, 270; death of, 272; tomb of, 274.
Othonian soldiers, insubordination of, 230, 243.

παιδαγωγός, 154.
παλαίστρα, 151.
παλαιωταῖοι, 211.
Palatium, 89.
παραγγέλεις, 231.
Pannonia, legions of, 191, 219, 245.
παραβολώτερον, 85.

παρακάλυμμα, 167.
παρακμάζοντες, 258.
παραφόρος, 87.
παρεγγυῆσαι, 86.
παρεγγυῶμαι, 271.
παρεμβολή, 141, 200.
participle, neuter, with article, 183, 184.
παστάς, 192.
Patrobius, 153, 202.
φαλακρότης, 140.
φθείρεσθαι, 185.
φιλαρχία, 88.
φιλοπλουτία, 88.
φρικώδης, 150.
Piso, character of, lxxxi; family of, 181.
Placentia, siege of, 233; importance of, 235.
Plato's *Republic*, reference to, 87.
Pliny the Elder, probably Plu-
porticus Vipsania, 192.
postal service, 121.
praefectus praetorio, 90
not a member of sena
praefectus urbi, 227.
praetor, derivation of, 9
praetorian cohorts, ca
119, 141, 190, 215, 23
πραγματικὴ ἱστορία, 93.
πρεσβευτής, 258.
principales, 185.
principia (πρεγκίπια), 13
προβάλλεσθαι, 183.
Proculus, praetorian p
217, 243; eagerness
fight, 244, 261.
procuratores, 98, 108.
πρόγραμμα, 104.
προπίνειν, 156.
προπονεῖν, 255.
πρόρρησις, 107.
πρόσχημα, 243.

senate, Greek terms for, 105.
senatus consultum ultimum, 106
Seneca, 166.
Septemviri Epulones, 209.
Sequani, 156.
servi publici, 121.
Sessorium, 202.
Sinuessa, 212.
σκηνικοί, 234.
σκηνῆναι, 165.
speculatores, 122, 186.
σπεῖρα, 169.
σφαγή, 197.
Sporus, 126.
Spurinna, 229, 232.
statues, breaking up of, 123; of Galba, 173.
στόμωμα, 250.
στρατηγικοί, 91, 260.
στρατηγός, 96.
στρατιωτικὰ φρονεῖν, 221.
succession to the empire, now arranged, 162.
Suetonius, relation to Plutarch, etc., lvi; mention of his father, 266.
Suetonius Paulinus, 229; character of, 241; is opposed to fighting, 245, 261.
συγκλητικός, 126.
σύγκλητος, 105.
σωφρία, 140.
συστρατιῶται, 267.
Syria, army of, 140, 221.

Tacitus, Histories of, compared with *Galba* and *Otho*, xiii foll.; date of the *Histories*, xxvi; intended compass of the *Histories*, xlvi.
τάγματα, 111.
tesserarii, 185.
τεθνήξεται, 184.
τετιθασευμένος, 205.
θαλαμηπόλος, 115.
theatres, public opinion expressed at, 155.
θεῖον ὄνομα, 213.
θεῖον σωτήρια, 156.
θυμέλη, 142.
θυρέον, 144.
θώρηξ, 187.
Tiber, overflow of, 223; forms of the name, 224.
Tiberiana domus, 187.
Tiberius Alexander, 269.
Tigellinus, 91; career of, 118, 154; death of, 212.
tirocinium fori, 138.
Titianus Otho, appointed to the supreme command, 242; eagerness of, to fight, 244.
τροπαῖα, 194.
Turpilianus, 146.

Umbricius, 187.

Valens, 129, 178; march of, from Germany, 225; character of, 235.
Varus Alfenus, 252.
Velabrum, 188.
Verginius Rufus, relations with Vindex, lxvii, 111; acknowledges Galba, lxx; recalled by Galba, lxxii, 130; career of, 110; reputation of, 128; death of, 132, 275.
vernaculae legiones, 148.
Vespasian, sent to Judaea, 140; career of, 220.
Veturius, 185.
via Postumia, 238.
Victory, statue of, 223.
Vindex, revolts against Nero, lxiii: real aims of, lxiv, 99-100; defeat of, 112; his memory honoured by Galba, 173.
Vinius, career of, 102; influence of Galba, 134; death of, 199.
Vipsanus Messala, xlvii.

CLASSICAL SERIES FOR COLL
AND SCHOOLS.

With Introductions and Notes. Fcap. 8vo

Æschines.—IN CTESIPHONTEM. By Rev. T. Gwat
E. S. Shuckburgh, M.A.

Æschylus.—PERSÆ. By A. O. Prickard, M.A. 2s. 6d.
SEVEN AGAINST THEBES. School Edition. By A
Litt.D., and M. A. Bayfield, M.A. 2s. 6d.

Andocides.—DE MYSTERIIS. By W. J. Hickie, M.A.

Attic Orators.—Selections from ANTIPHON, ANDOC
ISOCRATES, AND ISAEUS. By Professor R. C.
LL.D. 6s.

Cæsar.—THE GALLIC WAR. After Kraner, by Rev. Jo
and A. S. Walpole, M.A. With Maps. 6s.

Catullus.—SELECT POEMS. By F. P. Simpson, B.A.
Edition is carefully adapted to School use. 5s.

Cicero.—THE CATILINE ORATIONS. After Karl Hai
A. S. Wilkins, Litt.D., LL.D. 3s. 6d.
PRO LEGE MANILIA. After Karl Halm, by Professor
Litt.D., LL.D. 2s. 6d.
THE SECOND PHILIPPIC ORATION. After Karl H
by Professor John E. B. Mayor. 5s.
PRO ROSCIO AMERINO. After Halm, by E. H. Donk
PRO P. SESTIO. By Rev. H. A. Holden, M.A., LL.D.

Demosthenes.—DE CORONA. By B. Drake, M.A. N
Edition. Edited by E. S. Shuckburgh, M.A. 4s. 6d.
ADVERSUS LEPTINEM. By Rev. J. R. King, M.A. 4
THE FIRST PHILIPPIC. After C. Rehdantz
Gwatkin, M.A. 2s. 6d.

Euripides.—HIPPOLYTUS. By Professor J. P. Maha
J. B. Bury. 3s. 6d.
MEDEA. By A. W. Verrall, Litt.D. 3s. 6d.
IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS. By E. B. England, M.A. 4
ION. Edited by M. A. Bayfield, M.A. 3s. 6d.

Herodotus.—BOOKS VII. and VIII. By Mrs. Montagu

Homer.—ILIAD. BOOKS I., IX., XI., XVI.—XXIV.
OF ACHILLES. By the late J. H. Pratt, M.A., and
Litt.D. 6s.
ODYSSEY. BOOK IX. By Prof. John E. B. Mayor.
ODYSSEY. BOOKS XXI.—XXIV. THE TRIUMPH O
Edited by S. G. Hamilton, B.A. 3s. 6d.

Horace.—THE ODES. By T. E. Page, M.A. 6s. (BOO
and IV. separately, 2s. each.)
THE SATIRES. Edited by Arthur Palmer, M.A. 6s.
THE EPISTLES and ARS POETICA. By Professor
Litt.D., LL.D. 6s.

Juvenal.—THIRTEEN SATIRES. By E. G. Hardy, M.A
The Text of this Edition is carefully adapted to Sch
SELECT SATIRES. By Professor John E. B. Mayor
3s. 6d. XII.—XVI. 4s. 6d.

Livy. BOOKS II. and III. By Rev. H. M. Stephenson,
BOOKS XXI. and XXII. By the Rev. W. W. Capes,
BOOKS XXIII. and XXIV. By G. C. Macaulay, M.A.

MACMILLAN'S CLASSICAL SERIES—(*Continued.*)

Livy.—THE LAST TWO KINGS OF MACEDON. EXTRACTS FROM THE FOURTH AND FIFTH DECADES OF LIVY. By F. H. RAWLINS, M.A. 2s. 6d.

Lucretius.—BOOKS I.—III. By J. H. WARBURTON LEE, M.A. 4s. 6d.

Lysias.—SELECT ORATIONS. By E. S. SHUCKBURGH, M.A. 6s.

Martial.—SELECT EPIGRAMS. By Rev. H. M. STEPHENSON, M.A. 6s. 6d.

Ovid.—FASTI. By G. H. HALLAM, M.A. With Maps. 5s.
HEROIDUM EPISTULÆ XIII. By E. S. SHUCKBURGH, M.A. 4s. 6d.
METAMORPHOSES. BOOKS XIII. AND XIV. By C. SIMMONS, M.A. 4s. 6d.

Plato.—LACHES. By M. T. TATHAM, M.A. 2s. 6d.
THE REPUBLIC. BOOKS I.—V. By T. H. WARREN, M.A. 6s.

Plautus.—MILES GLORIOSUS. By R. Y. TYRRELL, M.A. 5s.
AMPHITRUO. By ARTHUR PALMER, M.A. 5s.

Pliny.—LETTERS. BOOK III. By Professor JOHN E. B. MAYOR. With Life of Pliny by G. H. RENDALL, M.A. 5s.
LETTERS. BOOKS I. AND II. By J. COWAN, M.A. 5s.

Plutarch.—LIFE OF THEMISTOKLES. By Rev. H. A. HOLDEN, M.A., LL.D. 5s.
LIVES OF GALBA AND OTHO. By E. G. HARDY, M.A.

Polybius.—THE HISTORY OF THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE AS CONTAINED IN THE REMAINS OF POLYBIUS. By W. W. CAPES, M.A. 6s. 6d.

Propertius.—SELECT POEMS. By Professor J. P. POSTGATE, M.A. 6s.

Sallust.—CATILINA AND JUGURTHA. By C. MERIVALE, D.D. 4s. 6d. Separately, 2s. 6d. each.
BELLUM CATULINAE. By A. M. COOK, M.A. 4s. 6d.

Tacitus.—AGRICOLA AND GERMANIA. By A. J. CHURCH, M.A., and W. J. BRODRIBB, M.A. 2s. 6d. Separately, 2s. each.
THE ANNALS. BOOK VI. By the same Editors. 2s. 6d.
THE HISTORIES. BOOKS I. AND II. By A. D. GODLEY, M.A. 5s.
THE HISTORIES. BOOK III.—V. By the same Editor. 5s.

Terence.—HAUTON TIMORUMENOS. By E. S. SHUCKBURGH, M.A. 2s. With Translation, 4s. 6d.
PHORMIO. By Rev. J. BOND, M.A., and A. S. WALPOLE, M.A. 4s. 6d.

Thucydides.—BOOK IV. By C. E. GRAVES, M.A. 5s.
BOOK V. By the same Editor. [*In the Press.*
BOOKS I. AND III. By C. BRYANS, M.A. [*In preparation.*
BOOK III. By E. C. MARCHMONT. [*In preparation.*
BOOKS VI. AND VII. THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION. By the Rev. PERCIVAL FROST, M.A. 5s.

Virgil.—ÆNEID. BOOKS II. AND III. THE NARRATIVE OF ÆNEAS. By E. W. HOWSON, M.A. 3s.

Xenophon.—HELLENICA, BOOKS I. AND II. By H. HAILSTONE, B.A. 4s. 6d.
CYROPÆDIA. BOOKS VII. AND VIII. By ALFRED GOODWIN, M.A. 5s.
MEMORABILIA SOCRATIS. By A. R. CLUER, B.A. 6s.
THE ANABASIS. BOOKS I.—IV. By Professors W. W. GOODWIN and J. W. WHITE. Adapted to Goodwin's Greek Grammar. 5s.
HIERO. By Rev. H. A. HOLDEN, M.A., LL.D. 3s. 6d.
OECONOMICUS. By the same Editor. 6s.

*** *Other Volumes will follow.*

MACMILLAN AND CO., LONDON.

January

A Catalogue

OF

Educational Book

PUBLISHED BY

Macmillan & Co.

BEDFORD STREET, STRAND, LONDO

CONTENTS.

CLASSICS— PAGE

Elementary Classics 1
Classical Series 1
Classical Library. (1) Text. (2) Translations 2
Grammar, Composition, and Philology 2
Antiquities, Ancient History, and Philosophy 3

MATHEMATICS—

Arithmetic and Mensuration 3
Algebra 3
Euclid, and Elementary Geometry 4
Trigonometry 5
Higher Mathematics 5

SCIENCE—

Natural Philosophy 5
Astronomy 6
Chemistry 6
Biology 6
Medicine 7
Military and Naval Text Books 7
Anthropology 7
Physical Geography and Geology 8
Agriculture 8
Political Economy 8
Mental and Moral Philosophy 8

GEOGRAPHY 9

Macmillan's Geographical Series 10

HISTORY 11

LAW 12

MODERN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE—

English 13
French 14
German 14
Modern Greek 15
Italian 15
Spanish 15

DOMESTIC ECONOMY 15

ART AND KINDRED SUBJECTS 16

WORKS ON TEACHING 16

DIVINITY 16

29 AND 30, BEDFORD STREET
LONDON, W.C., 7

CLASSICS.

ELEMENTARY CLASS

18mo, Eighteenpence each.

THIS SERIES FALLS INTO TWO CLASSES—

(1) First Reading Books for Beginners, only with **Introductions and Notes Vocabularies**, and in some cases with based upon the Text.

(2) Stepping-stones to the study of partic intended for more advanced students who a to read such authors as Terence, Plato, the Attic and the harder parts of Cicero, Horace, Thucydides.

These are provided with Introductions and **no Vocabulary.** The Publishers have been le vide the more strictly Elementary Books with Vo by the representations of many teachers, who hold ginners do not understand the use of a Dictionary others who, in the case of middle-class schools w cost of books is a serious consideration, advoc Vocabulary system on grounds of economy. It is that the two parts of the Series, fitting into one a may together fulfil all the requirements of Elementa Preparatory Schools, and the Lower Forms of Schools.

The following Elementary Books, with Introductions, Notes, and Vocabularies, and in some cases with Exercises, are either ready or in preparation:—

Accidence, Latin, and Exercises Arranged for Beginners. By WILLIAM WELCH, M.A., and C. G. DUFFIELD, M.A., Assistant Masters at Surrey County School, Cranleigh.

Aeschylus.—PROMETHEUS VINCTUS. Edited by Rev. H. M. STEPHENSON, M.A.

Arrian.—SELECTIONS. Edited for the use of Schools, with Introduction, Notes, Vocabulary, and Exercises, by Rev. JOHN BOND, M.A., and A. S. WALPOLE, M.A.

Aulus Gellius, Stories from. Being Selections and Adaptations from the *Noctes Atticae*. Edited, with Exercises for the use of Lower Forms, by Rev. G. H. NALL, M.A., Assistant Master in Westminster School.

Cæsar.—THE HELVETIAN WAR. Being Selections from Book I. of the "De Bello Gallico." Adapted for the use of Beginners. With Notes, Exercises, and Vocabulary, by W. WELCH, M.A., and C. G. DUFFIELD, M.A.

THE INVASION OF BRITAIN. Being Selections from Books IV. and V. of the "De Bello Gallico." Adapted for the use of Beginners. With Notes, Vocabulary, and Exercises, by W. WELCH, M.A., and C. G. DUFFIELD, M.A.

THE GALLIC WAR. BOOK I. Edited by A. S. WALPOLE, M.A.

BOOKS II. AND III. Edited by the Rev. W. G. RUTHERFORD, M.A., LL.D., Head-Master of Westminster.

BOOK IV. Edited by CLEMENT BRYANS, M.A., Assistant-Master at Dulwich College.

BOOK V. By C. COLBECK, M.A., Assistant-Master at Harrow, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

BOOK VI. By the same Editor.

SCENES FROM BOOKS V. AND VI. By the same Editor.

BOOK VII. Edited by Rev. JOHN BOND, M.A., and A. S. WALPOLE, M.A.

Cicero.—DE SENECTUTE. Edited by E. S. SHUCKBURGH, M.A., late Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

DE AMICITIA. By the same Editor.

STORIES OF ROMAN HISTORY. Adapted for the Use of Beginners. With Notes, Vocabulary, and Exercises, by the Rev. G. E. JEANS, M.A., Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford, and A. V. JONES, M.A.; Assistant-Masters at Haileybury College.

Euripides.—HECUBA. Edited by Rev. JOHN BOND, M.A and A. S. WALPOLE, M.A.

Eutropius.—Adapted for the Use of Beginners. With Notes, Vocabulary, and Exercises, by WILLIAM WELCH, M.A., and C. G. DUFFIELD, M.A., Assistant-Masters at Surrey County School, *Cranleigh*.

Virgil.—SELECTIONS. Edited by E. S. SHUCKBURGH, M.A.
GEORGICS. BOOK I. Edited by T. E. PAGE, M.A.
BOOK II. Edited by Rev. J. H. SKRINE, M.A., Warden of Trinity.
ÆNEID. BOOK I. Edited by A. S. WALPOLE, M.A.
BOOK II. Edited by T. E. PAGE, M.A., Assistant-Master at the Charterhouse.
BOOK III. Edited by T. E. PAGE, M.A. [*In preparation.*
BOOK IV. Edited by Rev. H. M. STEPHENSON, M.A.
BOOK V. Edited by Rev. A. CALVERT, M.A., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.
BOOK VI. Edited by T. E. PAGE, M.A.
BOOK VII. Edited by A. CALVERT, M.A.
BOOK VIII. Edited by A. CALVERT, M.A. [*In preparation.*
BOOK IX. Edited by Rev. H. M. STEPHENSON, M.A.
BOOK X. Edited by S. G. OWEN, M.A. [*In preparation.*

Xenophon.—ANABASIS. BOOK I. Edited by A. S. WALPOLE, M.A.
ANABASIS. BOOK I. Chaps. I.—VIII. for the use of Beginners, with Titles to the Sections, Notes, Vocabulary, and Exercises, by E. A. WELLS, M.A., Assistant Master in Durham School.
ANABASIS. BOOK II. Edited by A. S. WALPOLE, M.A.
ANABASIS. BOOK III. Edited by Rev. G. H. NALL. [*In preparation.*
ANABASIS, SELECTIONS FROM. BOOK IV. THE RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND. Edited, with Notes, Vocabulary, and Exercises, by Rev. E. D. STONE, M.A., formerly Assistant-Master at Eton.
ANABASIS. BOOK IV. Edited by Rev. E. D. STONE. [*In preparation.*
SELECTIONS FROM THE CYROPÆDIA. Edited, with Notes, Vocabulary, and Exercises, by A. H. COOKE, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of King's College, Cambridge.

The following more advanced Books, with Introductions and Notes, but no Vocabulary, are either ready, or in preparation:—

Cicero.—SELECT LETTERS. Edited by Rev. G. E. JEANS, M.A., Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford, and Assistant-Master at Haileybury College.

Herodotus.—SELECTIONS FROM BOOKS VII. AND VIII. THE EXPEDITION OF XERXES. Edited by A. H. COOKE, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of King's College, Cambridge.

Horace.—SELECTIONS FROM THE SATIRES AND EPISTLES. Edited by Rev. W. J. V. BAKER, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.
SELECT EPODES AND ARS POETICA. Edited by H. A. DALTON, M.A., formerly Senior Student of Christchurch, Assistant-Master in Winchester College.

CLASSICAL SERIES.

Plato.—EUTHYPHRO AND MENEXENUS. Edite
GRAVES, M.A., Classical Lecturer and late Fellow of
College, Cambridge.

Terence.—SCENES FROM THE ANDRIA. Edited
CORNISH, M.A., Assistant-Master at Eton College.

The Greek Elegiac Poets.— FROM CALLIN
CALLIMACHUS. Selected and Edited by Rev. I
KYNASTON, D.D., Principal of Cheltenham College, and
Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Thucydides.—BOOK IV. CHS. I.—XLI. THE CA
OF SPHACTERIA. Edited by C. E. GRAVES, M.A.

*** *Other Volumes to follow.*

CLASSICAL SERIES FOR COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS.

Fcap. 8vo.

Being select portions of Greek and Latin authors, e
with Introductions and Notes, for the use of Middl
Upper forms of Schools, or of candidates for P
Examinations at the Universities and elsewhere.

Æschines.— IN CTESIPHONTEM. Edited by Rev.
GWATKIN, M.A., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambr
and E. S. Shuckburgh, M.A.

Æschylus. — PERSÆ. Edited by A. O. PRICKARD, M
Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. With Map. 3*s.*
SEVEN AGAINST THEBES. SCHOOL EDITION. Ed
by A. W. VERRALL, Litt.D., Fellow of Trinity Colle
Cambridge, and M. A. BAYFIELD, M.A., Head-Master's Assist
at Malvern College. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Andocides.—DE MYSTERIIS. Edited by W. J. HICKIE, M.
formerly Assistant-Master in Denstone College. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Attic Orators.—Selections from ANTIPHON, ANDOCIDE
LYSIAS, ISOCRATES, AND ISAEUS. Edited, by R.
JEBB, Litt.D., LL.D., Professor of Greek in the Universi
of Cambridge. Second Edition. 6*s.*

Cæsar.—THE GALLIC WAR. Edited, after Kraner, by Rev
JOHN BOND, M.A., and A. S. WALPOLE, M.A. With Maps. 6*s*

Catullus.—SELECT POEMS. Edited by F. P. SIMPSON, B.A.,
late Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford. New and Revised
Edition. 5*s.* The Text of this Edition is carefully adapted to
School use.

Cicero.—THE CATILINE ORATIONS. From the German of KARL HALM. Edited, with Additions, by A. S. WILKINS, Litt.D., LL.D., Professor of Latin at the Owens College, Manchester, Examiner of Classics to the University of London. New Edition. *3s. 6d.*

PRO LEGE MANILIA. Edited, after HALM, by Professor A. S. WILKINS, Litt.D., LL.D. *2s. 6d.*

THE SECOND PHILIPPIC ORATION. From the German of KARL HALM. Edited, with Corrections and Additions, by JOHN E. B. MAYOR, Professor of Latin in the University of Cambridge, and Fellow of St. John's College. New Edition, revised. *5s.*

PRO ROSCIO AMERINO. Edited, after HALM, by E. H. DONKIN, M.A., late Scholar of Lincoln College, Oxford, and Assistant-Master at Sherborne School. *4s. 6d.*

PRO P. SESTIO. Edited by Rev. H. A. HOLDEN, M.A., LL.D., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; and late Classical Examiner to the University of London. *5s.*

Demosthenes.—DE CORONA. Edited by B. DRAKE, M.A., late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Seventh and revised Edition, edited by E. S. SHUCKBURGH, M.A. *4s. 6d.*

ADVERSUS LEPTINEM. Edited by Rev. J. R. KING, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, Oxford. *4s. 6d.*

THE FIRST PHILIPPIC. Edited, after C. REHDANTZ, by Rev. T. GWATKIN, M.A., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. *2s. 6d.*

IN MIDIAM. Edited by Prof. A. S. WILKINS, Litt.D., LL.D., and HERMAN HAGER, Ph.D., of the Owens College, Manchester. [*In preparation.*

Euripides.—HIPPOLYTUS. Edited by J. P. MAHAFFY, M.A., Fellow and Professor of Ancient History in Trinity College, Dublin, and J. B. BURY, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. *3s. 6d.*

MEDEA. Edited by A. W. VERRALL, Litt.D., Fellow and Lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge. *3s. 6d.*

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS. Edited by E. B. ENGLAND, M.A., Lecturer at the Owens College, Manchester. *4s. 6d.*

ION. Edited by M. A. BAYFIELD, M.A., Headmaster's Assistant at Malvern College. *3s. 6d.*

BACCHAE. Edited by R. Y. TYRRELL, M.A., Professor of Greek in the University of Dublin. [*In preparation.*

Herodotus.—BOOK III. Edited by G. C. MACAULAY, M.A., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. [*In preparation.*

BOOKS V. AND VI. Edited by J. STRACHAN, M.A., Professor of Greek in the Owens College, Manchester. [*In preparation.*

BOOKS VII. AND VIII. Edited by Mrs. MONTAGU BUTLER. [*In the press.*

Hesiod.—THE WORKS AND DAYS. Edited by W. T. LENDRUM, Assistant Master in Dulwich College. [*In preparation.*

Hertford College, Oxford. 3s. 6d.

Horace.—THE ODES. Edited by T.
Fellow of St. John's College, Cambr
the Charterhouse. 6s. (BOOKS I., II.
2s. each.)

THE SATIRES. Edited by ARTHUR
Trinity College, Dublin; Professor of
Dublin. 6s.

THE EPISTLES AND ARS POETI
WILKINS, Litt.D., LL.D., Professor o
Manchester; Examiner in Classics
London. 6s.

Isaeos.—THE ORATIONS. Edited
M.A., Fellow of Caius College, Cam
Greek in the University of Cork.

Juvenal. THIRTEEN SATIRES.
Schools, by E. G. HARDY, M.A., la
Oxford. 5s.

The Text of this Edition is carefully

SELECT SATIRES. Edited by Profe
X. AND XI. 3s. 6d. XII.—XVI. 4

Livy.—BOOKS II. AND III. Edited by
M.A. 5s.

BOOKS XXI. AND XXII. Edited by
M.A. With Maps. 5s.

BOOKS XXIII. AND XXIV. Edited b
With Maps. 5s.

THE LAST TWO KINGS OF MA
FROM THE FOURTH AND F
LIVY. Selected and Edited, with I

Martial.—SELECT EPIGRAMS. Edited by Rev. H. M. STEPHENSON, M.A. New Edition, Revised and Enlarged. 6*s.* 6*d.*

Ovid.—FASTI. Edited by G. H. HALLAM, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Assistant-Master at Harrow. With Maps. 5*s.*

HEROIDUM EPISTULÆ XIII. Edited by E. S. SHUCKBURGH, M.A. 4*s.* 6*d.*

TRISTIA. Edited by the same. [*In preparation.*

METAMORPHOSES. BOOKS I.—III. Edited by C. SIMMONS, M.A. [*In preparation.*

METAMORPHOSES. BOOKS XIII. AND XIV. Edited by C. SIMMONS, M.A. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Plato.—LACHES. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by M. T. TATHAM, M.A., formerly Assistant Master at Westminster. 2*s.* 6*d.*

THE REPUBLIC. BOOKS I.—V. Edited by T. H. WARREN, M.A., President of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford. 6*s.*

Plautus.—MILES GLORIOSUS. Edited by R. Y. TYRRELL, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Dublin. Second Edition Revised. 5*s.*

AMPHITRUO. Edited by ARTHUR PALMER, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College and Regius Professor of Latin in the University of Dublin. [*Nearly ready.*

Pliny.—LETTERS. BOOK III. Edited by Professor JOHN E. B. MAYOR. With Life of Pliny by G. H. RENDALL, M.A. 5*s.*

LETTERS. BOOKS I. and II. Edited by J. COWAN, M.A., Assistant-Master in the Manchester Grammar School. 5*s.*

Plutarch.—LIFE OF THEMISTOKLES. Edited by Rev. H. A. HOLDEN, M.A., LL.D. 5*s.*

LIVES OF GALBA AND OTHO. Edited by E. G. HARDY, M.A. [*In the press.*

Polybius.—THE HISTORY OF THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE AS CONTAINED IN THE REMAINS OF POLYBIUS. Edited by W. W. CAPES, M.A. 6*s.* 6*d.*

Propertius.—SELECT POEMS. Edited by Professor J. P. POSTGATE, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Second Edition, revised. 6*s.*

Sallust.—CATILINA AND JUGURTHA. Edited by C. MERIVALE, D.D., Dean of Ely. New Edition, carefully revised and enlarged, 4*s.* 6*d.* Or separately, 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

BELLUM CATULINAE. Edited by A. M. COOK, M.A., Assistant Master at St. Paul's School. 4*s.* 6*d.*

JUGURTHA. By the same Editor. [*In preparation.*

Tacitus.—AGRICOLA AND GERMANIA. Edited by A. J. CHURCH, M.A., and W. J. BRODRIBB, M.A., Translators of Tacitus. New Edition, 3*s.* 6*d.* Or separately, 2*s.* each.

THE ANNALS. BOOK VI. By the same Editors. 2*s.* 6*d.*

THE HISTORIES. BOOKS I. AND II. Edited by A. D GODLEY, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. 5*s.*

Tacitus.—THE HISTORIES. BOOKS III.—V. By the same Editor. 5*s.*

THE ANNALS. BOOKS I. AND II. Edited by J. S. Reid, M.L., Litt.D. *[In preparation.*

Terence.—HAUTON TIMORUMENOS. Edited by E. S. Shuckburgh, M.A. 3*s.* With Translation, 4*s.* 6*d.*

PHORMIO. Edited by Rev. John Bond, M.A., and A. S. Walpole, M.A. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Thucydides. BOOK [illegible]. Edited by C. E. Graves, M.A., late Fellow of St. John's Colle[illegible]

BO[illegible]litor. *[In the p*

BO[illegible] by C. Bryans, M.A. *[In prepara*

BOOK [illegible]Marchant, M.A. *[In prepara*

BOOK[illegible]SICILIAN EXPEDITION. E[illegible] by the [illegible]T, M.A., late Fellow of St. [illegible] Colleg[illegible] Edition, revised and enlarged,

BO[illegible]sor T. G. Tucker. *[In prepar*

Tibullus.[illegible] POEMS. Edited by Professor Postgate, M.[illegible] *[In prepar*

Virgil.—ÆNEID. BOOKS II. AND III. THE NARRA[illegible] OF ÆNEAS. Edited by E. W. Howson, M.A., Fellow of [illegible] College, Cambridge, and Assistant-Master at Harrow. 3*s.*

Xenophon.—HELLENICA, BOOKS I. AND II. Edit[illegible] H. Hailstone, B.A., late Scholar of Peterhouse, Camb[illegible] With Map. 4*s.* 6*d.*

CYROPÆDIA. BOOKS VII. AND VIII. Edited by A. Goodwin, M.A., Professor of Greek in University C[illegible] London. 5*s.*

MEMORABILIA SOCRATIS. Edited by A. R. Cluer, Balliol College, Oxford. 6*s.*

THE ANABASIS. BOOKS I.—IV. Edited by Professors Goodwin and J. W. White. Adapted to Goodwin's Grammar. With a Map. 5*s.*

HIERO. With Introduction, Summaries, Critical and Expla[illegible] Notes and Indices, and Critical Appendix. Edited by H. A. Holden, M.A., LL.D. Third Edition, revised.

OECONOMICUS. By the same Editor. With Introd[illegible] Explanatory Notes, Critical Appendix, and Lexicon. [illegible] Edition. 6*s.*

*** *Other Volumes will follow.*

CLASSICAL LIBRARY.

(1) **Texts, Edited with Introductions and N[illegible] for the use of Advanced Students. (2) Comment[illegible] and Translations.**

Æschylus.—THE EUMENIDES. The Greek Text, with Introduction, English Notes, and Verse Translation. By BERNARD DRAKE, M.A., late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. 8vo. 5*s.*

AGAMEMNON. Edited, with Introduction, Commentary, and Translation, by A. W. VERRALL, Litt.D. 8vo. 12*s.*

AGAMEMNON, CHOEPHORÆ, AND EUMENIDES. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by A. O. PRICKARD, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. 8vo.

[*In preparation.*

THE "SEVEN AGAINST THEBES." Edited, with Introduction, Commentary, and Translation, by A. W. VERRALL, Litt.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

THE SUPPLICES. A Revised Text, with Introduction, Critical Notes, Commentary and Translation. By T. G. TUCKER, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Professor of Classical Philology in the University of Melbourne. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius.—BOOK IV. OF THE MEDITATIONS. The Text Revised, with Translation and Notes, by HASTINGS CROSSLEY, M.A., Professor of Greek in Queen's College, Belfast. 8vo. 6*s.*

Aristotle.—THE METAPHYSICS. BOOK I. Translated by a Cambridge Graduate. 8vo. 5*s.*

THE POLITICS. Edited, after SUSEMIHL, by R. D. HICKS, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo.

[*In the press.*

THE POLITICS. Translated, with Analysis and Critical Notes, by Rev. J. E. C. WELLDON, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Head-Master of Harrow School. Second Edition, revised. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

THE RHETORIC. Translated, with an Analysis and Critical Notes, by the same. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

THE ETHICS. Translated, with an Analysis and Critical Notes, by the same. Crown 8vo. [*In preparation.*

AN INTRODUCTION TO ARISTOTLE'S RHETORIC. With Analysis, Notes, and Appendices. By E. M. COPE, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo. 14*s.*

THE SOPHISTICI ELENCHI. With Translation and Notes by E. POSTE, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 8vo. 8*s.* 6*d.*

Aristophanes.—THE BIRDS. Translated into English Verse, with Introduction, Notes, and Appendices, by B. H. KENNEDY, D.D., Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* Help Notes to the same, for the use of Students, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Attic Orators.—FROM ANTIPHON TO ISAEOS. By R. C. JEBB, Litt.D., LL.D., Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge. 2 vols. 8vo. 25*s.*

College, Oxford, and late Assistant
Edition. Revised. Crown 8vo.
(See also *Classica*

Euripides.—MEDEA. Edited, w
A. W. VERRALL, Litt.D. 8vo.

IPHIGENIA IN AULIS. Edited
by E. B. ENGLAND, M.A. 8vo.

INTRODUCTION TO THE ST
Professor J. P. MAHAFFY. Fcap. 8
(See also *Classica*

Herodotus.—BOOKS I.—III.
OF THE EAST. Edited, with
pendices, by A. H. SAYCE, Dep
Philology, Oxford; Honorary LL.
BOOKS IV.—IX. Edited by RA
Lecturer in Ancient History at Bra

THE HISTORY. Translated into E
By G. C. MACAULAY, M.A., forme
Cambridge. 2 vols. Crown 8vo.

Homer.—THE ILIAD. Edited, w
Notes, by WALTER LEAF, Litt.D.,
Cambridge. 8vo. In Two Volumes
Vol. II. Books XIII.—XIV. 14*s.*

THE ILIAD. Translated into E
LANG, M.A., WALTER LEAF, Li
M.A. Crown 8vo. 12*s.* 6*d.*

THE ODYSSEY. Done into Engli
Professor of Greek in the Universit
LANG, M.A., late Fellow of Mert
and Cheaper Edition, revised and co

Horace.—THE WORKS OF HORACE RENDERED INTO ENGLISH PROSE. With Introductions, Running Analysis, Notes, &c. By J. LONSDALE, M.A., and S. LEE, M.A. (*Globe Edition.*) *3s. 6d.*

STUDIES, LITERARY AND HISTORICAL, IN THE ODES OF HORACE. By A. W. VERRALL, Litt.D., Fellow of College, Cambridge. Demy 8vo. *8s. 6d.*

(See also *Classical Series.*)

Juvenal.—THIRTEEN SATIRES OF JUVENAL. With a Commentary. By JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A., Professor of Latin in the University of Cambridge. Crown 8vo.

*** Vol. I. Fourth Edition, Revised and Enlarged. *10s. 6d.* Vol. II. Second Edition. *10s. 6d.*

*** The new matter consists of an Introduction (pp. 1—53), Additional Notes (pp. 333—466) and Index (pp. 467—526). It is also issued separately, as a Supplement to the previous edition, at *5s.*

THIRTEEN SATIRES. Translated into English after the Text of J. E. B. MAYOR by ALEXANDER LEEPER, M.A., Warden of Trinity College, in the University of Melbourne. Crown 8vo. *3s. 6d.*

(See also *Classical Series.*)

Ktesias.—THE FRAGMENTS OF THE PERSIKA OF KTESIAS. Edited with Introduction and Notes by JOHN GILMORE, M.A. 8vo. *8s. 6d.*

Livy.—BOOKS I.—IV. Translated by Rev. H. M. STEPHENSON, M.A., late Head-Master of St. Peter's School, York.

[*In preparation.*

BOOKS XXI.—XXV. Translated by ALFRED JOHN CHURCH, M.A., of Lincoln College, Oxford, Professor of Latin, University College, London, and WILLIAM JACKSON BRODRIBB, M.A., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Cr. 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF LIVY. By Rev. W. W. CAPES, Reader in Ancient History at Oxford. Fcap. 8vo. *1s. 6d.* (*Classical Writers Series.*)

(See also *Classical Series.*)

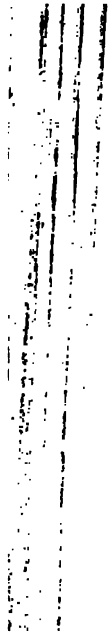
Martial.—BOOKS I. AND II. OF THE EPIGRAMS. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Professor J. E. B. MAYOR, M.A. 8vo. [*In the press.*

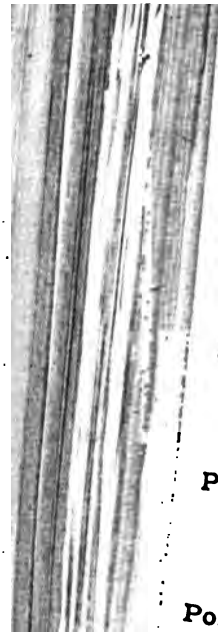
(See also *Classical Series.*)

Pausanias.—DESCRIPTION OF GREECE. Translated by J. G. FRAZER, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

[*In preparation.*

Phrynichus.—THE NEW PHRYNICHUS; being a Revised Text of the Ecloga of the Grammarian Phrynichus. With Introduction and Commentary by Rev. W. GUNION RUTHERFORD, M.A., LL.D., Head-Master of Westminster. 8vo. *18s.*





PHÆDO.
dices, by R. D. AR
Cambridge. 8vo.
TIMAEUS.—Edited,
by the same Editor.
PHÆDO. Edited, wi
LL.D., Principal of
Demy 8vo. 8s. 6d.
THE REPUBLIC OF
Analysis and Notes, b
M.A. 18mo. 4s. 6d.
EUTHYPHRO, APO
lated by F. J. CHURC
PHÆDRUS, LYSIS,
Literal Translation,
WRIGHT, M.A., Trini

(See

Plautus.—THE MOST
Prolegomena, and Ex
formerly Professor of
Edited by Professor GE
of Glasgow. 8vo. 14s

(See al

Pliny.—CORRESPOND
Caecilii Secundi Epistula
Responsis. Edited, wi
E. G. HARDY, M.A., F
merly Head Master of Gr

Polybius (See also

Tacitus.—THE ANNALS. Edited, with Introductions and Notes, by G. O. HOLBROOKE, M.A., Professor of Latin in Trinity College, Hartford, U.S.A. With Maps. 8vo. *16s.*

THE ANNALS. Translated by A. J. CHURCH, M.A., and W. J. BRODRIBB, M.A. With Notes and Maps. New Edition. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

THE HISTORIES. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Rev. W. A. SPOONER, M.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford. 8vo. [*In the press.*

THE HISTORY. Translated by A. J. CHURCH, M.A., and W. J. BRODRIBB, M.A. With Notes and a Map. Crown 8vo. *6s.*

THE AGRICOLA AND GERMANY, WITH THE DIALOGUE ON ORATORY. Translated by A. J. CHURCH, M.A., and W. J. BRODRIBB, M.A. With Notes and Maps. New and Revised Edition. Crown 8vo. *4s. 6d.*

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF TACITUS. By A. J. CHURCH, M.A. and W. J. BRODRIBB, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. *1s. 6d.* (*Classical Writers Series.*)

(See also *Classical Series.*)

Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus. Rendered into English Prose, with Introductory Essay, by A. LANG, M.A. 18mo. *4s. 6d.*

*** Also an Edition on Large Paper. Crown 8vo. *9s.*

Thucydides.—BOOK IV. A Revision of the Text, Illustrating the Principal Causes of Corruption in the Manuscripts of this Author. By WILLIAM GUNION RUTHERFORD, M.A., LL.D., Headmaster of Westminster. 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

BOOK VIII. Edited with Introduction and Notes, by H. C. GOODHART, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

(See also *Classical Series.*) [*In preparation.*

Virgil.—THE WORKS OF VIRGIL RENDERED INTO ENGLISH PROSE, with Notes, Introductions, Running Analysis, and an Index, by JAMES LONSDALE, M.A., and SAMUEL LEE, M.A. New Edition. Globe 8vo. *3s. 6d.*

THE ÆNEID. Translated by J. W. MACKAIL, M.A., Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

(See also *Classical Series.*)

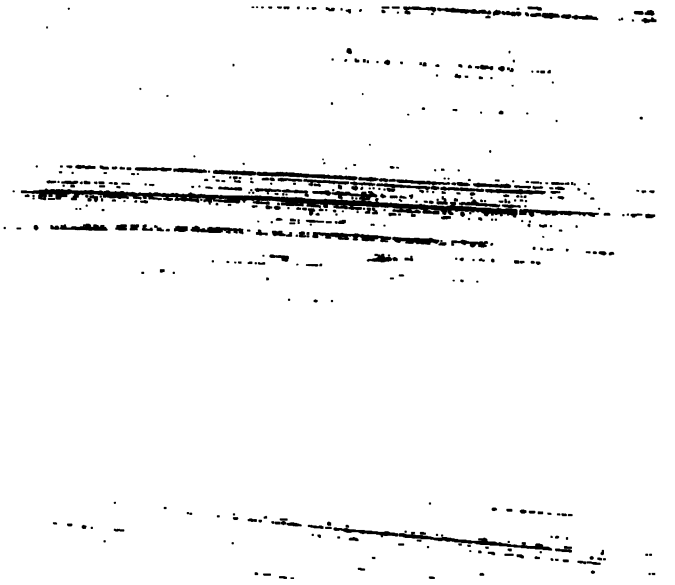
Xenophon.—THE WORKS OF. Translated into English, with Introduction and Notes, by H. G. DAKYNS, M.A. In four vols. Vol. I., containing "The Anabasis;" and Books I. and II. of "The Hellenica." Crown 8vo. [*Just ready.*

(See also *Classical Series.*)

GRAMMAR, COMPOSITION, & PHILOLOGY.

Belcher.—SHORT EXERCISES IN LATIN PROSE COMPOSITION AND EXAMINATION PAPERS IN LATIN GRAMMAR, to which is prefixed a Chapter on Analysis of Sentences. By the Rev. H. BELCHER, M.A., Rector of the High School, Dunedin, N.Z. New Edition. 18mo. *1s. 6d.*

KEY TO THE ABOVE (for Teachers only). *3s. 6d.*



Hadley and Allen.—A GREEK GRAMMAR FOR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES. By JAMES HADLEY, late Professor in Yale College. Revised and in part Rewritten by FREDERIC DE FOREST ALLEN, Professor in Harvard College. Crown 8vo. *6s.*

Hodgson.—MYTHOLOGY FOR LATIN VERSIFICATION. A brief Sketch of the Fables of the Ancients, prepared to be rendered into Latin Verse for Schools. By F. HODGSON, B.D., late Provost of Eton. New Edition, revised by F. C. HODGSON, M.A. 18mo. *3s.*

Jackson.—FIRST STEPS TO GREEK PROSE COMPOSITION. By BLOMFIELD JACKSON, M.A., Vicar of St. Bartholomew's, Moor Lane, E.C., formerly Senior Assistant Classical Master in King's College School, London. New Edition, revised and enlarged. 18mo. *1s. 6d.*

KEY TO FIRST STEPS (for Teachers only). 18mo. *3s. 6d.*

SECOND STEPS TO GREEK PROSE COMPOSITION, with Miscellaneous Idioms, Aids to Accentuation, and Examination Papers in Greek Scholarship. 18mo. *2s. 6d.*

KEY TO SECOND STEPS (for Teachers only). 18mo. *3s. 6d.*

Kynaston.—EXERCISES IN THE COMPOSITION OF GREEK IAMBIC VERSE by Translations from English Dramatists. By Rev. H. KYNASTON, D.D., Principal of Cheltenham College. With Introduction, Vocabulary, &c. New Edition, revised and enlarged. Extra fcap. 8vo. *5s.*

KEY TO THE SAME (for Teachers only). Extra fcap. 8vo. *4s. 6d.*

Lupton.—Works by J. H. LUPTON, M.A., Sur-Master of St. Paul's School, and formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

AN INTRODUCTION TO LATIN ELEGIAC VERSE COMPOSITION. Globe 8vo. *2s. 6d.*

LATIN RENDERING OF THE EXERCISES IN PART II. (XXV.-C.). Globe 8vo. *3s. 6d.*

AN INTRODUCTION TO LATIN LYRIC VERSE COMPOSITION. Globe 8vo. *3s.*

KEY FOR THE USE OF TEACHERS ONLY. Globe 8vo. *4s. 6d.*

Mackie.—PARALLEL PASSAGES FOR TRANSLATION INTO GREEK AND ENGLISH. Carefully graduated for the use of Colleges and Schools. With Indexes. By Rev. ELLIS C. MACKIE, Classical Master at Heversham Grammar School. Globe 8vo. *4s. 6d.*

Macmillan.—FIRST LATIN GRAMMAR. By M. C. MACMILLAN, M.A., late Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge; sometime Assistant-Master in St. Paul's School. New Edition, enlarged. Fcap. 8vo. *1s. 6d.*

Macmillan's Greek Course.—Edited by Rev. W. GUNION RUTHERFORD, M.A., LL.D., Head Master of Westminster.

I.—FIRST GREEK GRAMMAR. By the Editor. New Edition, thoroughly revised. Globe 8vo. *2s.*

CLASSICAL WORKS. GRAMMAR, COMPOSI

Macmillan's Greek Course.—II.—EA
IN GREEK ACCIDENCE. By H. G. U
Assistant-Master St. Paul's Preparatory Schoo
III.—A SECOND GREEK EXERCISE BO
W. A. HEARD, M.A., Assistant-Master at
Globe 8vo.
IV.—MANUAL OF GREEK ACCIDENC

V.—MANUAL OF GREEK SYNTAX.

VI.—ELEMENTARY GREEK COMP
Editor.

Macmillan's Greek Reader.—STORI
A First Greek Reader, with Notes, Voca
By F. H. COLSON, M.A., late Fellow of St
bridge; Head Master of Plymouth College.

Macmillan's Latin Course. By
Assistant-Master at St. Paul's School.
Edition, revised and enlarged. Globe 8vo
Year. 2s. 6d.

Macmillan's Latin Reader.—A LA
THE LOWER FORMS IN SCHOOLS
M.A., Assistant Master in Winchester Coll

Macmillan's Shorter Latin Cours
M.A., Assistant-Master at St. Paul's Schoo
of "Macmillan's Latin Course," First Yea

Marshall.—A TABLE OF IRREGULA
classified according to the arrangement of C
By J. M. MARSHALL, M.A., Head M
School, Durham. New Edition. 8vo.

Mayor (John E. B.)—FIRST GREE
after KARL HALM, with Corrections and
fessor JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A., Fellow
Cambridge. New Edition, revised. Fcap

Mayor (Joseph B.)—GREEK FOR B
Rev. J. B. MAYOR, M.A., Professor of
King's College, London. Part I., wit
Parts II. and III., with Vocabulary and In
in one Vol. fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Nixon.—PARALLEL EXTRACTS, Arra
English and Latin, with Notes on Idior
M.A., Fellow and Classical Lecturer, Kin
Part I.—Historical and Epistolary. Nev
enlarged. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

PROSE EXTRACTS, Arranged for Tran
Latin, with General and Special Preface
I. Oratorical. II. Historical. III. Philos
and Letters. By the same Author. 2n
Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Nixon.—SELECTIONS FROM PROSE EXTRACTS, including Easy Anecdotes and Letters with Notes and Hints. Pp. 120. 3*s.* Translations of about 70 Extracts can be supplied to Schoolmasters (2*s.* 6*d.*), on application to the Author; and about 40 similarly of "Parallel Extracts." 1*s.* 6*d.* post free.

Pantin.—A FIRST LATIN VERSE BOOK. By W. E. P. PANTIN, M.A., Assistant-Master at St. Paul's School. Globe 8vo. [*In the press.*

Peile.—A PRIMER OF PHILOLOGY. By J. PEILE, Litt.D., Master of Christ's College, Cambridge. 18mo. 1*s.*

Postgate.—SERMO LATINUS. A Short Guide to Latin Prose Composition. Part I. Introduction. Part II. Selected Passages for Translation. By J. P. POSTGATE, M.A., Litt. D., Fellow and Classical Lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge, Professor of Comparative Philology in University College, London. Globe 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

KEY to "Selected Passages." 3*s.* 6*d.*

Postgate and Vince.—A DICTIONARY OF LATIN ETYMOLOGY. By J. P. POSTGATE, M.A., and C. A. VINCE, M.A. [*In preparation.*

Potts (A. W.)—Works by ALEXANDER W. POTTS, M.A., LL.D., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; Head Master of the Fettes College, Edinburgh.

HINTS TOWARDS LATIN PROSE COMPOSITION. New Edition. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3*s.*

PASSAGES FOR TRANSLATION INTO LATIN PROSE. Edited with Notes and References to the above. New Edition. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

LATIN VERSIONS OF PASSAGES FOR TRANSLATION INTO LATIN PROSE (for Teachers only). 2*s.* 6*d.*

Preston.—EXERCISES IN LATIN VERSE OF VARIOUS KINDS. By Rev. G. PRESTON, M.A., late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and Head Master of the King's School, Chester. Globe 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

KEY, for the use of Teachers only. Globe 8vo. 5*s.*

Reid.—A GRAMMAR OF TACITUS. By J. S. REID, M.L., Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge. [*In preparation.*

A GRAMMAR OF VERGIL. By the same Author. [*In preparation.*

*** *Similar Grammars to other Classical Authors will probably follow.*

Roby.—A GRAMMAR OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE, from Plautus to Suetonius. By H. J. ROBY, M.A., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. In Two Parts. Part I. Fifth Edition, containing:—Book I. Sounds. Book II. Inflexions. Book III. Word-formation. Appendices. Crown 8vo. 9*s.*

Part II. Syntax, Prepositions, &c. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

"Marked by the clear and practised insight of a master in his art. A book that would do honour to any country."—ATHENÆUM.

SCHOOL LATIN GRAMMAR. By the same Author. Cr. 8vo. 5*s.*

Wright.—Works by J. WRIGHT, M.A., late Head Master of Sutton Coldfield School.

A HELP TO LATIN GRAMMAR; or, The Form and Use of Words in Latin, with Progressive Exercises. Crown 8vo. *4s. 6d.*

THE SEVEN KINGS OF ROME. An Easy Narrative, abridged from the First Book of Livy by the omission of Difficult Passages; being a First Latin Reading Book, with Grammatical Notes and Vocabulary. New and revised Edition. Fcap. 8vo. *3s. 6d.*

FIRST LATIN STEPS; OR, AN INTRODUCTION BY A SERIES OF EXAMPLES TO THE STUDY OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE. Crown 8vo. *3s.*

ATTIC PRIMER. Arranged for the Use of Beginners. Extra fcap. 8vo. *2s. 6d.*

A COMPLETE LATIN COURSE, comprising Rules with Examples, Exercises, both Latin and English, on each Rule, and Vocabularies. Crown 8vo. *2s. 6d.*

ANTIQUITIES, ANCIENT HISTORY, AND PHILOSOPHY.

Arnold.—Works by W. T. ARNOLD, M.A.

A HANDBOOK OF LATIN EPIGRAPHY. [*In preparation.*

THE ROMAN SYSTEM OF PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION TO THE ACCESSION OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. Crown 8vo. *6s.*

Arnold (T.)—THE SECOND PUNIC WAR. Being Chapters on THE HISTORY OF ROME. By the late THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D., formerly Head Master of Rugby School, and Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. Edited, with Notes, by W. T. ARNOLD, M.A. With 8 Maps. Crown 8vo. *8s. 6d.*

Beesly.—STORIES FROM THE HISTORY OF ROME. By Mrs. BEESLY. Fcap. 8vo. *2s. 6d.*

Burn.—ROMAN LITERATURE IN RELATION TO ROMAN ART. By Rev. ROBERT BURN, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. With numerous Illustrations. Extra Crown 8vo. *14s.*

Bury.—A HISTORY OF THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE FROM ARCADIUS TO IRENE, A.D. 395—800. By JOHN B. BURY, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. 2 vols. 8vo. *32s.*

Classical Writers.—Edited by JOHN RICHARD GREEN, M.A., LL.D. Fcap. 8vo. *1s. 6d.* each.

EURIPIDES. By Professor MAHAFFY.
MILTON. By the Rev. STOPFORD A. BROOKE, M.A.
LIVY. By the Rev. W. W. CAPES, M.A.
VIRGIL. By Professor NETTLESHIP, M.A.
SOPHOCLES. By Professor L. CAMPBELL, M.A.
DEMOSTHENES. By Professor S. H. BUTCHER, M.A.
TACITUS. By Professor A. J. CHURCH, M.A., and W. J. BRODRIBB, M.A.

Freeman.—Works by EDWARD A. FREEMAN, Hon. Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, Re Modern History in the University of Oxford.

HISTORY OF ROME. (*Historical Course for*

A SCHOOL HISTORY OF ROME. Crown 8vo

HISTORICAL ESSAYS. Second Series. [G History.] 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Fyffe.—A SCHOOL HISTORY OF GREE FYFFE, M.A. Crown 8vo.

Gardner.—SAMOS AND SAMIAN COINS. PERCY GARDNER, M.A., Litt.D., Professor the University of Oxford. With Illustrations.

Geddes.—THE PROBLEM OF THE HO By W. D. GEDDES, Principal of the Univer 8vo. 14*s.*

Gladstone.—Works by the Rt. Hon. W. E. GL THE TIME AND PLACE OF HOMER. Cr A PRIMER OF HOMER. 18mo. 1*s.*

Gow.—A COMPANION TO SCHOOL C JAMES GOW, Litt.D., Master of the High Sch late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. W Second Edition. Revised. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

Harrison and Verrall.—CULTS AND OF ANCIENT ATHENS. By Miss J. E. HA A. W. VERRALL. Illustrated. Crown 8vo.

Jebb.—Works by R. C. JEBB, Litt.D., LL.D., Pr in the University of Cambridge.

THE ATTIC ORATORS FROM ANTIPHON 2 vols. 8vo. 25*s.*

A PRIMER OF GREEK LITERATURE. 18m (See also *Classical Series.*)

Kiepert.—MANUAL OF ANCIENT GEOGR lated from the German of Dr. HEINRICH KIEPERT.

Lanciani.—ANCIENT ROME IN THE LIGHT DISCOVERIES. By RODOLFO LANCIANI, L Professor of Archæology in the University of Ro Excavations for the National Government and the Rome, &c. With 100 Illustrations. Small 4to.

Mahaffy.—Works by J. P. MAHAFFY, M.A., D.D Professor of Ancient History in Trinity College, Dub Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford.

SOCIAL LIFE IN GREECE; from Homer t Fifth Edition, revised and enlarged. Crown 8vo.

GREEK LIFE AND THOUGHT; from the Age to the Roman Conquest. Crown 8vo. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Mahaffy.—RAMBLES AND STUDIES IN GREECE. With Illustrations. Third Edition, Revised and Enlarged. With Map. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

A HISTORY OF CLASSICAL GREEK LITERATURE. In Two Vols. Crown 8vo. 9*s.* each. Vol. I. The Poets, with an Appendix on Homer by Prof. SAYCE. Vol. II. The Prose Writers.

A PRIMER OF GREEK ANTIQUITIES. With Illustrations. 18mo. 1*s.*

EURIPIDES. 18mo. 1*s.* 6*d.* (*Classical Writers Series.*)

Mayor (J. E. B.)—BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CLUE TO LATIN LITERATURE. Edited after HUBNER, with large Additions, by Professor JOHN E. B. MAYOR. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Newton.—ESSAYS IN ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY. By Sir CHARLES NEWTON, K.C.B., D.C.L., formerly Professor of Archæology in University College, London, and Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum. 8vo. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Sayce.—THE ANCIENT EMPIRES OF THE EAST. By A. H. SAYCE, Deputy-Professor of Comparative Philosophy, Oxford, Hon. LL.D. Dublin. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

Stewart.—THE TALE OF TROY. Done into English by AUBREY STEWART, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity Colleges Cambridge. Globe 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Waldstein.—CATALOGUE OF CASTS IN THE MUSEUM OF CLASSICAL ARCHÆOLOGY. By CHARLES WALDSTEIN, Litt.D., Ph.D., LL.D., University Reader in Classical Archæology. Crown 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

*** Also an Edition on Large Paper, small 4to. 5*s.*

Wilkins.—A PRIMER OF ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. By Professor WILKINS, Litt. D., LL.D. Illustrated. 18mo. 1*s.*

A PRIMER OF ROMAN LITERATURE. By the same Author. [*Just ready.*

MATHEMATICS.

(1) Arithmetic and Mensuration, (2) Algebra, (3) Euclid and Elementary Geometry, (4) Trigonometry, (5) Higher Mathematics.

ARITHMETIC AND MENSURATION.

Aldis.—THE GREAT GIANT ARITHMOS. A most Elementary Arithmetic for Children. By MARY STEADMAN ALDIS. With Illustrations. Globe 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Army Preliminary Examination, S
Papers Set at the, 1882—88.—Wit
Mathematical Questions. Subjects: Arithmetic,
Geometrical Drawing, Geography, French, E
Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*
This selection of papers at recent Preliminary Examinations f
the Army are intended for the use of Candidates preparing for the

Bradshaw.—A COURSE OF EASY ARITHM
AMPLES FOR BEGINNERS. By J. G. BRA
formerly Scholar of Jesus College, Cambridge, A
at Clifton College. Globe 8vo. 2*s.* With Answe

Brooksmith (J.).—ARITHMETIC IN THI
PRACTICE. By J. BROOKSMITH, M.A., LL.B
College, Cambridge; Barrister-at-Law; one of th
Cheltenham College. New Edition, revised. Crown

Brooksmith. — ARITHMETIC FOR BEGINNE
BROOKSMITH, M.A., LL.B., St. John's College,
Barrister-at-Law; and sometime one of the Masters of
College; and E. J. BROOKSMITH, B.A., LL.M., St.
lege, Cambridge; Instructor of Mathematics at the Roy
Academy, Woolwich. Globe 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Candler.—HELP TO ARITHMETIC. Designed for
Schools. By H. CANDLER, M.A., Mathematical M
Uppingham School. Second Edition. Extra fcap. 8vo.

Dalton.—RULES AND EXAMPLES IN ARITHMET
the Rev. T. DALTON, M.A., Assistant-Master in Eton
New Edition, with Answers. 18mo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Goyen.—HIGHER ARITHMETIC AND ELEMEN
MENSURATION. By P. GOYEN, Inspector of S
Dunedin, New Zealand. Crown 8vo. 5*s.*

Hall and Knight.—ARITHMETICAL EXERCISES
EXAMINATION PAPERS. With an Appendix conta
Questions in LOGARITHMS and MENSURATION. By H. S. H
M.A., formerly Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge, M.
of the Military and Engineering Side, Clifton College; and S.
KNIGHT, B.A., formerly Scholar of Trinity College, Cambric
late Assistant Master at Marlborough College, Authors
"Elementary Algebra," "Algebraical Exercises and Examinati
Papers," and "Higher Algebra," &c. Globe 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Lock.—Works by Rev. J. B. LOCK, M.A., Senior Fellow, Assista
Tutor, and Lecturer in Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge
formerly Master at Eton.
ARITHMETIC FOR SCHOOLS. With Answers and 1000
additional Examples for Exercise. Third Edition, revised. Stereo-
typed. Globe 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.* Or in Two Parts:—Part I. Up to
and including Practice. Globe 8vo. 2*s.* Part II. With 1000
additional Examples for Exercise. Globe 8vo. 3*s.*

*** The complete book and the Parts can also be obtained without answers at the ne price. But the editions with answers will always be supplied unless the ers are specially asked for.*

Lock.—A KEY TO "ARITHMETIC FOR SCHOOLS." By the Rev. R. G. WATSON, M.A. Crown 8vo. *10s. 6d.*

ARITHMETIC FOR BEGINNERS. A School Class Book of Commercial Arithmetic. Globe 8vo. *2s. 6d.*

A KEY TO "ARITHMETIC FOR BEGINNERS." By Rev. R. G. WATSON, M.A. Crown 8vo. *8s. 6d.*

A SHILLING CLASS-BOOK OF ARITHMETIC ADAPTED FOR USE IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS. 18mo.

[*In the press.*

Pedley.—EXERCISES IN ARITHMETIC for the Use of Schools. Containing more than 7,000 original Examples. By S. PEDLEY, late of Tamworth Grammar School. Crown 8vo. *5s.* Also in Two Parts *2s. 6d.* each.

Smith.—Works by the Rev. BARNARD SMITH, M.A., late Rector of Glaston, Rutland, and Fellow and Senior Bursar of S. Peter's College, Cambridge.

ARITHMETIC AND ALGEBRA, in their Principles and Application; with numerous systematically arranged Examples taken from the Cambridge Examination Papers, with especial reference to the Ordinary Examination for the B.A. Degree. New Edition, carefully Revised. Crown 8vo. *10s. 6d.*

ARITHMETIC FOR SCHOOLS. New Edition. Crown 8vo. *4s. 6d.*

A KEY TO THE ARITHMETIC FOR SCHOOLS. New Edition. Crown 8vo. *8s. 6d.*

EXERCISES IN ARITHMETIC. Crown 8vo, limp cloth, *2s.* With Answers, *2s. 6d.* Answers separately, *6d.*

SCHOOL CLASS-BOOK OF ARITHMETIC. 18mo, cloth. *3s.* Or sold separately, in Three Parts, *1s.* each.

KEYS TO SCHOOL CLASS-BOOK OF ARITHMETIC. Parts I., II., and III., *2s. 6d.* each.

SHILLING BOOK OF ARITHMETIC FOR NATIONAL AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS. 18mo, cloth. Or separately, Part I. *2d.*; Part II. *3d.*; Part III. *7d.* Answers, *6d.*

THE SAME, with Answers complete. 18mo, cloth. *1s. 6d.*

KEY TO SHILLING BOOK OF ARITHMETIC. 18mo. *4s. 6d.*

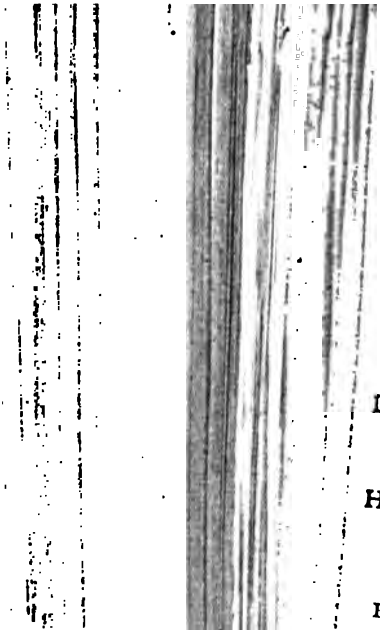
EXAMINATION PAPERS IN ARITHMETIC. 18mo. *1s. 6d.* The same, with Answers, 18mo, *2s.* Answers, *6d.*

KEY TO EXAMINATION PAPERS IN ARITHMETIC. 18mo. *4s. 6d.*

THE METRIC SYSTEM OF ARITHMETIC, ITS PRINCIPLES AND APPLICATIONS, with numerous Examples, written expressly for Standard V. in National Schools. New Edition. 18mo, cloth, sewed. *3d.*

A CHART OF THE METRIC SYSTEM, on a Sheet, size 42 in. by 34 in. on Roller, mounted and varnished. New Edition. Price *3s. 6d.*

Also a Small Chart on a Card, price *1d.*



Stevens.—ELEMEN
in the mensuration of
M.A., formerly Sch
of the Military and I

Thornton.—FIRST
THORNTON. New E
A KEY TO THE AL

Todhunter.—MENS
TODHUNTER, M.A.,
Cambridge. With Ex
KEY TO MENSURA
FR. LAWRENCE MC
Peter's College, Agra.

Dalton.—RULES AN
Rev. T. DALTON, M
Part I. New Edition.
*** *A Key to Pa*

Hall and Knight.
formerly Scholar of Ch
Military and Engineeri
KNIGHT, B.A., formerly
late Assistant-Master at
ELEMENTARY ALGE

Jones and Cheyne.—ALGEBRAICAL EXERCISES. Progressively Arranged. By the Rev. C. A. JONES, M.A., and C. H. CHEYNE, M.A., F.R.A.S., Mathematical Masters of Westminster School. New Edition. 18mo. *2s. 6d.*

SOLUTIONS AND HINTS FOR THE SOLUTION OF SOME OF THE EXAMPLES IN THE ALGEBRAICAL EXERCISES OF MESSRS. JONES AND CHEYNE. By Rev. W. FAILES, M.A., Mathematical Master at Westminster School, late Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

Smith (Barnard).—ARITHMETIC AND ALGEBRA, in their Principles and Application; with numerous systematically arranged Examples taken from the Cambridge Examination Papers, with especial reference to the Ordinary Examination for the B.A. Degree. By the Rev. BARNARD SMITH, M.A., late Rector of Glaston, Rutland, and Fellow and Senior Bursar of St. Peter's College, Cambridge. New Edition, carefully Revised. Crown 8vo. *10s. 6d.*

Smith (Charles).—Works by CHARLES SMITH, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

ELEMENTARY ALGEBRA. Globe 8vo. *4s. 6d.*

In this work the author has endeavoured to explain the principles of Algebra in as simple a manner as possible for the benefit of beginners, bestowing great care upon the explanations and proofs of the fundamental operations and rules.

A TREATISE ON ALGEBRA. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

SOLUTIONS OF THE EXAMPLES IN "A TREATISE ON ALGEBRA." Crown 8vo. *10s. 6d.*

Todhunter.—Works by I. TODHUNTER, M.A., F.R.S., D.Sc. late of St. John's College, Cambridge.

"Mr. Todhunter is chiefly known to Students of Mathematics as the author of a series of admirable mathematical text-books, which possess the rare qualities of being clear in style and absolutely free from mistakes, typographical or other."—SATURDAY REVIEW.

ALGEBRA FOR BEGINNERS. With numerous Examples. New Edition. 18mo. *2s. 6d.*

KEY TO ALGEBRA FOR BEGINNERS. Crown 8vo. *6s. 6d.*

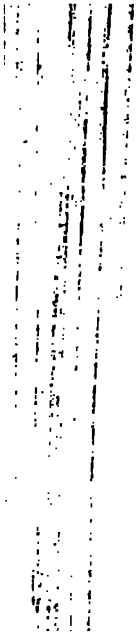
ALGEBRA. For the Use of Colleges and Schools. New Edition. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

KEY TO ALGEBRA FOR THE USE OF COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS. Crown 8vo. *10s. 6d.*

EUCLID, & ELEMENTARY GEOMETRY.

Constable.—GEOMETRICAL EXERCISES FOR BEGINNERS. By SAMUEL CONSTABLE. Crown 8vo. *3s. 6d.*

Cuthbertson.—EUCLIDIAN GEOMETRY. By FRANCIS CUTHBERTSON, M.A., LL.D., Head Mathematical Master of the City of London School. Extra fcap. 8vo. *4s. 6d.*



Principal
and THO
Part I. To
Both Parts

Palmer.—T
AND TR
master R.N

Snowball.—
CAL TRIG
teenth Editio

Todhunter.—
late of St. Jo
TRIGONOME
Examples. N
KEY TO TRIG
PLANE TRIGO
Edition. Crow
KEY TO PLAN
A TREATISE C
Edition, enlarged
(See also under *Ari*

HIGH

Airy.—Works by Sir G
ELEMENTARY TR
EQUATIO

Alexander and Thomson.—ELEMENTARY APPLIED MECHANICS. By THOMAS ALEXANDER, C.E., Professor of Civil Engineering, Trinity College, Dublin, and ARTHUR WATSON THOMSON, C.E., B.Sc., Professor of Engineering at the Technical College, Glasgow. Part II. TRANSVERSE STRESS. Crown 8vo. *10s. 6d.*

Army Preliminary Examination, 1882-1883, Specimens of Papers set at the. With answers to the Mathematical Questions. Subjects: Arithmetic, Algebra, Euclid, Geometrical Drawing, Geography, French, English Dictation. Cr. 8vo. *3s. 6d.*

Ball (W. W. R.).—A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE HISTORY OF MATHEMATICS. By W. W. ROUSE BALL, Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge, and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. Crown 8vo. *10s. 6d.*

Ball (Sir R. S.).—EXPERIMENTAL MECHANICS. A Course of Lectures delivered at the Royal College of Science for Ireland. By SIR ROBERT STAWELL BALL, LL.D., F.R.S., Astronomer-Royal of Ireland. New Edition. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. *6s.*

Boole.—THE CALCULUS OF FINITE DIFFERENCES. By G. BOOLE, D.C.L., F.R.S., late Professor of Mathematics in the Queen's University, Ireland. Third Edition, revised by J. F. MOULTON, Q.C. Crown 8vo. *10s. 6d.*

Cambridge Senate-House Problems and Riders, with Solutions:—

1875—PROBLEMS AND RIDERS. By A. G. GREENHILL, M.A. Crown 8vo. *8s. 6d.*

1878—SOLUTIONS OF SENATE-HOUSE PROBLEMS. By the Mathematical Moderators and Examiners. Edited by J. W. L. GLAISHER, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. *12s.*

Carll.—A TREATISE ON THE CALCULUS OF VARIATIONS. Arranged with the purpose of Introducing, as well as Illustrating, its Principles to the Reader by means of Problems, and Designed to present in all Important Particulars a Complete View of the Present State of the Science. By LEWIS BUFFETT CARLL, A.M. Demy 8vo. *21s.*

Cheyne.—AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON THE PLANETARY THEORY. By C. H. H. CHEYNE, M.A., F.R.A.S. With a Collection of Problems. Third Edition. Edited by Rev. A. FREEMAN, M.A., F.R.A.S. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

Christie.—A COLLECTION OF ELEMENTARY TEST-QUESTIONS IN PURE AND MIXED MATHEMATICS; with Answers and Appendices on Synthetic Division, and on the Solution of Numerical Equations by Horner's Method. By JAMES R. CHRISTIE, F.R.S., Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. Crown 8vo. *8s. 6d.*

Clausius.—MECHANICAL THEORY
CLAUSIUS. Translated by WALTER R.
Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Clifford.—THE ELEMENTS OF DYNA
to the Study of Motion and Rest in Solid a
K. CLIFFORD, F.R.S., late Professor of A
Mechanics at University College, London.
Crown 8vo. Books I—III. 7*s.* 6*d.*; Boo

Cockshott and Walters.—A TR
METRICAL CONICS. In accordanc
the Association for the Improvement of
By A. COCKSHOTT, M.A., formerly
Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge; A
and Rev. F. B. WALTERS, M.A., Fell
Cambridge, and Principal of King Wi
Man. With Diagrams. Crown 8vo. 5

Cotterill.—APPLIED MECHANICS:
Introduction to the Theory of Structu
JAMES H. COTTERILL, F.R.S., Associat
of the Institution of Naval Architects, A
Institution of Civil Engineers, Professor
the Royal Naval College, Greenwich. M

Cotterill and Slade.—ELEMENTAI
PLIED MECHANICS. By JAMES H
and J. H. SLADE. Crown 8vo.

Day (R. E.)—ELECTRIC LIGHT ARI

Edgar (J. H.) and Pritchard (G. S.).—NOTE-BOOK ON PRACTICAL SOLID OR DESCRIPTIVE GEOMETRY. Containing Problems with help for Solutions. By J. H. EDGAR, M.A., Lecturer on Mechanical Drawing at the Royal School of Mines, and G. S. PRITCHARD. Fourth Edition, revised by ARTHUR MEEZE. Globe 8vo. *4s. 6d.*

Edwards.—THE DIFFERENTIAL CALCULUS With Applications and numerous Examples. An Elementary Treatise by JOSEPH EDWARDS, M.A., formerly Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo. *10s. 6d.*

Ferrers.—Works by the Rev. N. M. FERRERS, M.A., Master of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON TRILINEAR CO-ORDINATES, the Method of Reciprocal Polars, and the Theory of Projectors. New Edition, revised. Crown 8vo. *6s. 6d.*

AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON SPHERICAL HARMONICS, AND SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THEM. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

Forsyth.—A TREATISE ON DIFFERENTIAL EQUATIONS. By ANDREW RUSSELL FORSYTH, M.A., F.R.S., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. Second Edition. 8vo. *14s.*

Frost.—Works by PERCIVAL FROST, M.A., D.Sc., formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; Mathematical Lecturer at King's College.

AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON CURVE TRACING. 8vo. *12s.*

SOLID GEOMETRY. Third Edition. Demy 8vo. *16s.*

HINTS FOR THE SOLUTION OF PROBLEMS in the Third Edition of SOLID GEOMETRY. 8vo. *8s. 6d.*

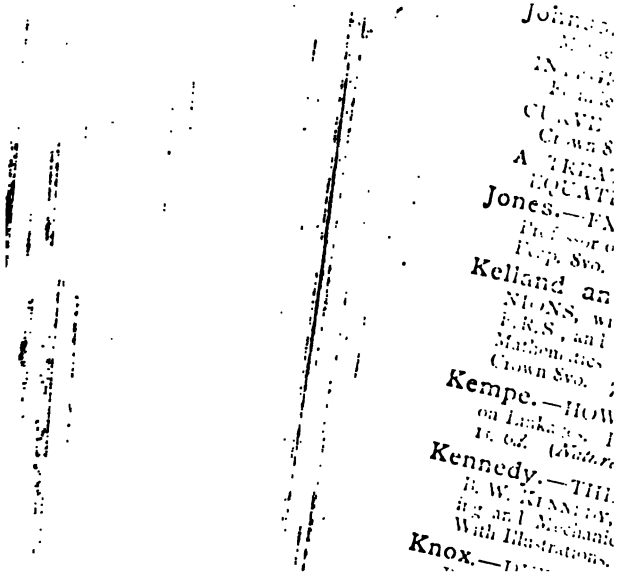
Greaves.—A TREATISE ON ELEMENTARY STATICS. By JOHN GREAVES, M.A., Fellow and Mathematical Lecturer of Christ's College, Cambridge. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. *6s. 6d.*

STATICS FOR BEGINNERS. By the Same Author. Globe 8vo. *3s. 6d.*

Greenhill.—DIFFERENTIAL AND INTEGRAL CALCULUS. With Applications. By A. G. GREENHILL, M.A., Professor of Mathematics to the Senior Class of Artillery Officers, Woolwich, and Examiner in Mathematics to the University of London. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

Hayward.—THE ALGEBRA OF CO-PLANAR VECTORS AND TRIGONOMETRY. By R. B. HAYWARD, F.R.S., Assistant Master at Harrow. *[In preparation.*

Hicks.—*DYNAMICS OF PARTICLES AND SOLIDS.* By *W. M. Hicks*, Principal, and Professor of Mathematics and *Physics*, Firth College, Sheffield, late Fellow of St. John's *College*, Cambridge. Crown 8vo. [In the P



Macfarlane.—PHYSICAL ARITHMETIC. By ALEXANDER MACFARLANE, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.E., Examiner in Mathematics to the University of Edinburgh. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

MacGregor.—KINEMATICS AND DYNAMICS. An Elementary Treatise. By JAMES GORDON MACGREGOR, M.A., D.Sc., Fellow of the Royal Societies of Edinburgh and of Canada, Munro Professor of Physics in Dalhousie College, Halifax, Nova Scotia. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. *10s. 6d.*

Merriman.—A TEXT BOOK OF THE METHOD OF LEAST SQUARES. By MANSFIELD MERRIMAN, Professor of Civil Engineering at Lehigh University, Member of the American Philosophical Society, American Association for the Advancement of Science, &c. Demy 8vo. *8s. 6d.*

Millar.—ELEMENTS OF DESCRIPTIVE GEOMETRY By J. B. MILLAR, C.E., Assistant Lecturer in Engineering in Owens College, Manchester. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. *6s.*

Milne.—Works by the Rev. JOHN J. MILNE, M.A., Private Tutor, late Scholar, of St. John's College, Cambridge, &c., &c., formerly Second Master of Heversham Grammar School.

WEEKLY PROBLEM PAPERS. With Notes intended for the use of students preparing for Mathematical Scholarships, and for the Junior Members of the Universities who are reading for Mathematical Honours. Pott 8vo. *4s. 6d.*

SOLUTIONS TO WEEKLY PROBLEM PAPERS. Crown 8vo. *10s. 6d.*

COMPANION TO "WEEKLY PROBLEM PAPERS." Crown 8vo. *10s. 6d.*

Muir.—A TREATISE ON THE THEORY OF DETERMINANTS. With graduated sets of Examples. For use in Colleges and Schools. By THOS. MUIR, M.A., F.R.S.E., Mathematical Master in the High School of Glasgow. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

Palmer.—TEXT BOOK OF PRACTICAL LOGARITHMS AND TRIGONOMETRY. By J. H. PALMER, Head Schoolmaster R.N., H.M.S. *Cambridge*, Devonport. Globe 8vo. *4s. 6d.*

Parkinson.—AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON MECHANICS. For the Use of the Junior Classes at the University and the Higher Classes in Schools. By S. PARKINSON, D.D., F.R.S., Tutor and Prælector of St. John's College, Cambridge. With a Collection of Examples. Sixth Edition, revised. Crown 8vo. *9s. 6d.*

Pirie.—LESSONS ON RIGID DYNAMICS. By the Rev. G. PIRIE, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Cambridge; Professor of Mathematics in the University of Aberdeen. Crown 8vo. *6s.*

Puckle.—AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON CONIC SECTIONS AND ALGEBRAIC GEOMETRY. With Numerous Examples and Hints for their Solution; especially designed for the Use of Beginners. By G. H. PUCKLE, M.A. Fifth Edition, revised and enlarged. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

Reuleaux.—THE KINEMATICS OF MACHINERY. Outlines of a Theory of Machines. By Professor F. REULEAUX. Translated and Edited by Professor A. B. W. KENNEDY, F.R.S., C.E. With 450 Illustrations. Medium 8vo. *21s*

Rice and Johnson.—DIFFERENTIAL CALCULUS, an Elementary Treatise on the; Founded on the Method of Rates or Fluxions. By JOHN MINOT RICE, Professor of Mathematics in the United States Navy, and WILLIAM WOOLSEY JOHNSON, Professor of Mathematics at the United States Naval Academy. Third Edition, [illegible] Corrected. Demy 8vo. 18s. Abridged Edition, 9s.

Robinson.—TREATISE ON MARINE SURVEYING. Prepared for the use of younger Naval Officers. With Questions for Examinations and Exercises principally from the Papers of the Royal Naval College. With the results. By Rev. JOHN L. ROBINSON, Chaplain and Instructor in the Royal Naval College, Greenwich. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

CONTENTS.—Symbols used in Chart [illegible] Surveying—The Construction and Use of Scales—Laying off Angles—Fixing [illegible] ons by Angles—Charts and Chart Drawing—Instruments and Observing [illegible] se Lines—Triangulation—Levelling—Tides and Tidal Observations—Sounding—Chronometers—Meridian Distances—Method of Plotting a Survey—Miscellaneous Exercises—Index.

Routh.—Works by EDWARD JOHN ROUTH, D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S., Fellow of the University of London, Hon. Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

A TREATISE ON THE DYNAMICS OF THE SYSTEM OF RIGID BODIES. With numerous Examples. Fourth and enlarged Edition. Two Vols. 8vo. Vol. I.—Elementary Part. 14*s*. Vol. II.—The Advanced Parts. 14*s*.

STABILITY OF A GIVEN STATE OF MOTION, PARTICULARLY STEADY MOTION. Adams' Prize Essay for 1877. 8vo. 8*s. 6d.*

Sanderson.—HYDROSTATICS FOR BEGINNERS. By F. W. SANDERSON, M.A., late Fellow of the University of Durham, and Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge; Assistant Master in Dulwich College. Globe 8vo. 4*s. 6d.*

Smith (C.).—Works by CHARLES SMITH, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

CONIC SECTIONS. Seventh Edition. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

SOLUTIONS TO CONIC SECTIONS. Crown 8vo. 10*s. 6d.*

AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON SOLID GEOMETRY. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 9*s. 6d.* (See also under *Algebra*.)

Syllabus of Elementary Dynamics. Drawn up by the Association for the Improvement of Geometrical Teaching. 4to. Part I. *[In preparation.*

Tait and Steele.—A TREATISE ON DYNAMICS OF A PARTICLE. With numerous Examples. By Professor TAIT and W. J. STEELE, B.A. Sixth Edition, revised. Crown 8vo.

Thomson.—Works by J. J. THOMSON, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Professor of Experimental Physics in the University.

A TREATISE ON THE MOTION OF VORTEX RINGS. An Essay to which the Adams Prize was adjudged in 1882 in the University of Cambridge. With Diagrams. 8vo. 6*s.*

APPLICATIONS OF DYNAMICS TO PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Todhunter.—Works by I. TODHUNTER, M.A., F.R.S., D.Sc., late of St. John's College, Cambridge.

"Mr. Todhunter is chiefly known to students of Mathematics as the author of a series of admirable mathematical text-books, which possess the rare qualities of being clear in style and absolutely free from mistakes, typographical and other."—SATURDAY REVIEW.

MECHANICS FOR BEGINNERS. With numerous Examples. New Edition. 18mo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

KEY TO MECHANICS FOR BEGINNERS. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.*

AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON THE THEORY OF EQUATIONS. New Edition, revised. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

PLANE CO-ORDINATE GEOMETRY, as applied to the Straight Line and the Conic Sections. With numerous Examples. New Edition, revised and enlarged Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

KEY TO PLANE CO-ORDINATE GEOMETRY. By C. W. BOURNE, M.A. Head Master of the College, Inverness. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

A TREATISE ON THE DIFFERENTIAL CALCULUS. With numerous Examples. New Edition. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

A KEY TO DIFFERENTIAL CALCULUS. By H. ST. J. HUNTER, M.A. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

A TREATISE ON THE INTEGRAL CALCULUS AND ITS APPLICATIONS. With numerous Examples. New Edition, revised and enlarged. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

A KEY TO INTEGRAL CALCULUS. By H. ST. JOHN HUNTER, M.A. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

EXAMPLES OF ANALYTICAL GEOMETRY OF THREE DIMENSIONS. New Edition, revised. Crown 8vo. 4*s.*

A TREATISE ON ANALYTICAL STATICS. With numerous Examples. Fifth Edition. Edited by Professor J. D. EVERETT, F.R.S. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

A HISTORY OF THE MATHEMATICAL THEORY OF PROBABILITY, from the time of Pascal to that of Laplace. 8vo. 18*s.*

A HISTORY OF THE MATHEMATICAL THEORIES OF ATTRACTION, AND THE FIGURE OF THE EARTH, from the time of Newton to that of Laplace. 2 vols. 8vo. 24*s.*

AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON LAPLACE'S, LAME'S, AND BESSEL'S FUNCTIONS. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

(See also under *Arithmetic and Mensuration*, *Algebra*, and *Trigonometry*.)

Wilson (J. M.).—SOLID GEOMETRY AND CONIC SEC TIONS. With Appendices on Transversals and Harmonic Divisio For the Use of Schools. By Rev. J. M. WILSON, M.A. He Master of Clifton College. New Edition. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6

Woolwich Mathematical Papers, for Admission in the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, 1880—1888 inclusiv Edited by E. J. BROOKSMITH, B.A., LL.M., St. John's Colleg Cambridge; Instructor in Mathematics at the Royal Milita Academy, Woolwich. Crown 8vo. 6s.

Wolstenholme.—MATHEMATICAL PROBLEMS, on Su jects included in the First and Second Divisions of the Schedule subjects for the Cambridge Mathematical Tripos Examinatio Devised and arranged by JOSEPH WOLSTENHOLME, D.Sc., la Fellow of Christ's College, sometime Fellow of St. John's Colleg and Professor of Mathematics in the Royal Indian Engineeri College. New Edition, greatly enlarged. 8vo. 18s.

EXAMPLES FOR PRACTICE IN THE USE OF SEVEN FIGURE LOGARITHMS. For the Use of Colleges a Schools. By the same Author. 8vo. 5s.

SCIENCE.

(1) Natural Philosophy, (2) Astronomy, (3 Chemistry, (4) Biology, (5) Medicine, (6) Militar and Naval Text Books, (7) Anthropology, (8) Phy sical Geography and Geology, (9) Agriculture.

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

Airy.—Works by Sir G. B. AIRY, K.C.B., formerly Astronome Royal.

ON SOUND AND ATMOSPHERIC VIBRATIONS. Wit the Mathematical Elements of Music. Designed for the Use c Students in the University. Second Edition, revised and enlarged Crown 8vo. 9s.

A TREATISE ON MAGNETISM. Designed for the Use o Students in the University. Crown 8vo. 9s. 6d.

GRAVITATION: an Elementary Explanation of the Principa Perturbations in the Solar System. 2nd Ed. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Alexander (T.).—ELEMENTARY APPLIED MECHANICS. Being the simpler and more practical Cases of Stress and Strain wrought out individually from first principles by means of Ele- mentary Mathematics. By T. ALEXANDER, C.E., Professor o Civil Engineering, Trinity College, Dublin. Crown 8vo. Part 4s. 6d.

Alexander — Thomson. — ELEMENTARY APPLIED MECHANICS. By Professor THOMAS ALEXANDER, C.E., and Professor ARTHUR WATSON THOMSON, C.E., B.Sc. Part II. TRANSVERSE STRESS; upwards of 150 Diagrams, and 200 Examples carefully worked out. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Ball (R. S.).—EXPERIMENTAL MECHANICS. A Course of Lectures delivered at the Royal College of Science for Ireland. By Sir R. S. BALL, LL.D., F.R.S., Astronomer Royal of Ireland. Second and Cheaper Edition. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

Bottomley.—FOUR-FIGURE MATHEMATICAL TABLES. Comprising Logarithmic and Trigonometrical Tables, and Tables of Squares, Square Roots, and Reciprocals. By J. T. BOTTOMLEY, M.A., F.R.S.E., F.C.S., Lecturer in Natural Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Chisholm.—THE SCIENCE OF WEIGHING AND MEASURING, AND THE STANDARDS OF MEASURE AND WEIGHT. By H. W. CHISHOLM, Warden of the Standards. With numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.* (*Nature Series.*)

Clarke.—A TABLE OF SPECIFIC GRAVITY FOR SOLIDS AND LIQUIDS. (Constants of Nature: Part I.) New Edition. Revised and Enlarged. By FRANK WIGGLESWORTH CLARKE, Chief Chemist, U.S. Geological Survey. 8vo, 12*s.* 6*d.* (Published for the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S. of America.)

Clausius.—MECHANICAL THEORY OF HEAT. By R. CLAUSIUS. Translated by WALTER R. BROWNE, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo 10*s.* 6*d.*

Cotterill.—APPLIED MECHANICS: an Elementary General Introduction to the Theory of Structures and Machines. By JAMES H. COTTERILL, F.R.S., Associate Member of the Council of the Institution of Naval Architects, Associate Member of the Institution of Civil Engineers, Professor of Applied Mechanics in the Royal Naval College, Greenwich. Medium 8vo. 18*s.*

Cotterill and Slade.—ELEMENTARY MANUAL OF APPLIED MECHANICS. By JAMES H. COTTERILL, F.R.S and J. H. SLADE. Crown 8vo. [*In the press.*

Cumming.—AN INTRODUCTION TO THE THEORY OF ELECTRICITY. By LINNÆUS CUMMING, M.A., one of the Masters of Rugby School. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 8*s.* 6*d.*

Daniell.—A TEXT-BOOK OF THE PRINCIPLES OF PHYSICS. By ALFRED DANIELL, M.A., LL.B., D.Sc., F.R.S.E., late Lecturer on Physics in the School of Medicine, Edinburgh. With Illustrations. Second Edition. Revised and Enlarged. Medium 8vo. 21*s.*

Day.—ELECTRIC LIGHT ARITHMETIC. By R. E. DAY, M.A., Evening Lecturer in Experimental Physics at King's College, London. Pott 8vo. 2*s.*

rett.—UNITS AND PHYSICAL CONSTANTS. By J. D. EVERETT, M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.R.S.E., Professor of Natural Philosophy, Queen's College, Belfast. Second Edition. Extra fcap. 8vo. 5*s.*

guillet and Kutter.—A GENERAL FORMULA FOR THE UNIFORM FLOW OF WATER IN RIVERS AND OTHER CHANNELS. By E. GANGUILLET and W. R. KUTTER, Engineers, in Berne, Switzerland. Translated from the German, with numerous Additions, including Tables and Diagrams, and the Elements of over 1,200 Gaugings of Rivers, Small Channels and Pipes in English Measure, by RUDOLPH HERING, Assoc. Am. Soc. C.E., M.Inst.C.E., and JOHN C. TRAUTWINE, Jun., Assoc. Am. Soc. C.E., Assoc. Inst. C.E. 8vo. 17*s.*

y.—THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF ABSOLUTE MEASUREMENTS IN ELECTRICITY AND MAGNETISM. By ANDREW GRAY, M.A., F.R.S.E., Professor of Physics in the University College of North Wales. Two Vols. Crown 8vo. Vol. I. 12*s.* 6*d.* [Vol. II. *In the press.*

SOLUTE MEASUREMENTS IN ELECTRICITY AND MAGNETISM. By the same Author. Second Edition. Revised and greatly enlarged. Fcap. 8vo. 5*s.* 6*d.*

aves.—ELEMENTARY STATICS, A TREATISE ON. By JOHN GREAVES, M.A., Fellow and Mathematical Lecturer

Kempe.—HOW TO DRAW A STRAIGHT LINE; a Lecture on Linkages. By A. B. KEMPE. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.* (*Nature Series.*)

Kennedy.—THE MECHANICS OF MACHINERY. By A. B. W. KENNEDY, F.R.S., M.Inst.C.E., late Professor of Engineering and Mechanical Technology in University College, London. With numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Lang.—EXPERIMENTAL PHYSICS. By P. R. SCOTT LANG, M.A., Professor of Mathematics in the University of St. Andrews. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. [*In the press.*

Lock.—Works by Rev. J. B. LOCK, M.A., Senior Fellow, Assistant Tutor and Lecturer in Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, formerly Master at Eton, &c.

DYNAMICS FOR BEGINNERS. Second Edition. Globe 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

ELEMENTARY STATICS. Globe 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Lodge.—MODERN VIEWS OF ELECTRICITY. By OLIVER J. LODGE, LL.D., D.Sc., F.R.S., Professor of Experimental Physics in University College, Liverpool. Illustrated. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.* (*Nature Series.*)

Loewy.—Works by B. LOEWY, F.R.A.S., Science Master at the London International College, and Examiner in Experimental Physics to the College of Preceptors.

QUESTIONS AND EXAMPLES ON EXPERIMENTAL PHYSICS: Sound, Light, Heat, Electricity, and Magnetism. Fcap. 8vo. 2*s.*

A GRADUATED COURSE OF NATURAL SCIENCE FOR ELEMENTARY AND TECHNICAL SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES. In Three Parts. Part I. FIRST YEAR'S COURSE. Globe 8vo. 2*s.*

Lupton.—NUMERICAL TABLES AND CONSTANTS IN ELEMENTARY SCIENCE. By SYDNEY LUPTON, M.A., F.C.S., F.I.C., Assistant Master at Harrow School. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Macfarlane.—PHYSICAL ARITHMETIC. By ALEXANDER MACFARLANE, D.Sc., Examiner in Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Macgregor.—KINEMATICS AND DYNAMICS. An Elementary Treatise. By JAMES GORDON MACGREGOR, M.A., D. Sc., Fellow of the Royal Societies of Edinburgh and of Canada, Munro Professor of Physics in Dalhousie College, Halifax, Nova Scotia. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Mayer.—SOUND: a Series of Simple, Entertaining, and Inexpensive Experiments in the Phenomena of Sound, for the Use of Students of every age. By A. M. MAYER, Professor of Physics in the Stevens Institute of Technology, &c. With numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.* (*Nature Series.*)

Mayer and Barnard.—LIGHT: a Se
ing, and Inexpensive Experiments in the P
Use of Students of every age. By A. M. M
With numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo.

Newton.—PRINCIPIA. Edited by Pro
and Professor BLACKBURNE. 4to. 31s.
THE FIRST THREE SECTIONS OF
CIPIA. With Notes and Illustrations.
Problems, principally intended as Example
By PERCIVAL FROST, M.A. Third Editio

Parkinson.—A TREATISE ON OPTICS
D.D., F.R.S., Tutor and Prælector of St.
bridge. Fourth Edition, revised and enlarge

Peabody.—THERMODYNAMICS OF
GINE AND OTHER HEAT-ENGINE
PEABODY, Associate Professor of Steam En
setts Institute of Technology. 8vo. 21s.

Perry.—STEAM. AN ELEMENTARY
JOHN PERRY, C.E., Whitworth Scholar, Fell
Society, Professor of Mechanical Engineering a
anics at the Technical College, Finsbury. With
cuts and Numerical Examples and Exercises. 18

Rayleigh.—THE THEORY OF SOUND. By
M.A., F.R.S., formerly Fellow of Trinity Coll
8vo. Vol. I. 12s. 6d. Vol. II. 12s. 6d. [Vol.

Reuleaux.—THE KINEMATICS OF MACHI
lines of a Theory of Machines. By Professor F
Translated and Edited by Professor A. B. W. KENN
C.E. With 450 Illustrations. Medium 8vo. 21s.

Roscoe and Schuster.—SPECTRUM ANALYS
delivered in 1868 before the Society of Apothecaries
By Sir HENRY E. ROSCOE, LL.D., F.R.S., formerly
Chemistry in the Owens College, Victoria University, 1
Fourth Edition, revised and considerably enlarged by t
and by ARTHUR SCHUSTER, F.R.S., Ph.D., Professor
Mathematics in the Owens College, Victoria University.
pendices, numerous Illustrations, and Plates. Medium 8

Sanderson.—HYDROSTATICS FOR BEGINNER
F. W. SANDERSON, M.A., late Fellow of the Unive
Durham, and Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge; A
Master in Dulwich College. Globe 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Shann.—AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON HEAT
RELATION TO STEAM AND THE STEAM-ENG
By G. SHANN, M.A. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 4s.

Spottiswoode.—POLARISATION OF LIGHT. By
W. SPOTTISWOODE, F.R.S. With Illustrations.
Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. (*Nature Series.*)

Stewart (Balfour).—Works by BALFOUR STEWART, F.R.S., late Langworthy Professor of Physics in the Owens College, Victoria University, Manchester.

PRIMER OF PHYSICS. With numerous Illustrations. New Edition, with Questions. 18mo. 1*s.* (*Science Primers.*)

LESSONS IN ELEMENTARY PHYSICS. With numerous Illustrations and Chromolitho of the Spectra of the Sun, Stars, and Nebulæ. New and Enlarged Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

QUESTIONS ON BALFOUR STEWART'S ELEMENTARY LESSONS IN PHYSICS. By Prof. THOMAS H. CORE, Owens College, Manchester. New Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2*s.*

Stewart and Gee.—ELEMENTARY PRACTICAL PHYSICS, LESSONS IN. By BALFOUR STEWART, F.R.S., and W. W. HALDANE GEE, B.Sc. Crown 8vo.

Vol. I.—GENERAL PHYSICAL PROCESSES. 6*s.*
Vol. II.—ELECTRICITY AND MAGNETISM. 7*s.* 6*d.*
Vol. III.—OPTICS, HEAT, AND SOUND. [*In the press.*

PRACTICAL PHYSICS FOR SCHOOLS AND THE JUNIOR STUDENTS OF COLLEGES. By the same Authors. Globe 8vo.

Vol. I.—ELECTRICITY AND MAGNETISM. 2*s.* 6*d.*
Vol. II.—HEAT, LIGHT, AND SOUND. [*In the press.*

Stokes.—ON LIGHT. Being the Burnett Lectures, delivered in Aberdeen in 1883, 1884, 1885. By Sir GEORGE GABRIEL STOKES, M.A., P.R.S., &c., Fellow of Pembroke College, and Lucasian Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge. First Course: ON THE NATURE OF LIGHT.—Second Course: ON LIGHT AS A MEANS OF INVESTIGATION.—Third Course: ON THE BENEFICIAL EFFECTS OF LIGHT. Complete in one volume. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.* (*Nature Series.*)

*** The 2nd and 3rd Courses may be had separately. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

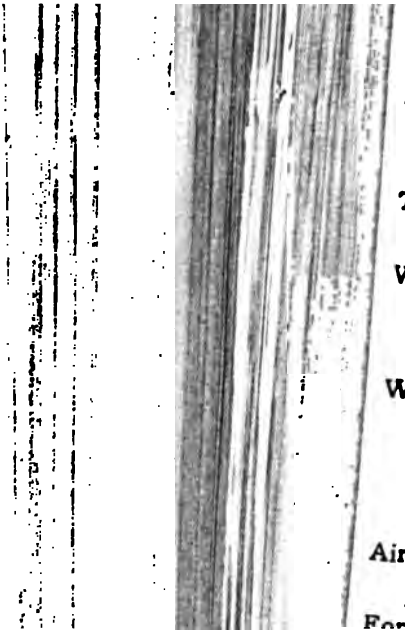
Stone.—AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON SOUND. By W. H. STONE, M.D. With Illustrations. 18mo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Tait.—HEAT. By P. G. TAIT, M.A., Sec. R.S.E., formerly Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

Thompson.—ELEMENTARY LESSONS IN ELECTRICITY AND MAGNETISM. By SILVANUS P. THOMPSON, Principal and Professor of Physics in the Technical College, Finsbury. With Illustrations. New Edition, Revised. Forty-Third Thousand. Fcap. 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Thomson, Sir W.—Works by Sir WILLIAM THOMSON, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., F.R.S.E., Fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, and Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Glasgow.

ELECTROSTATICS AND MAGNETISM, REPRINTS OF PAPERS ON. Second Edition. Medium 8vo. 18*s.*



An Essay to wh
the University o

APPLICATIONS
CHEMISTRY.

Todhunter.—NA
By I. TODHUNTE
Part I. The Properti
Part II. Sound, Ligl

Turner.—HEAT A
EXAMPLES ON.
College, Cambridg

Witham.—STEAM
Mechanical Engine
WITHAM, Member
fessor of Engineerin
ant Engineer, U.S.

Wright (Lewis).—
MENTAL OPTIC
By LEWIS WRIGHT.
Plates. Crown 8vo.

A

Airy.—POPULAR AS
G. B. AIRY, K.C.B.,
18mo. 4s. 6d.

Forbes

Lockyer.—ELEMENTARY LESSONS IN ASTRONOMY. With Coloured Diagram of the Spectra of the Sun, Stars, and Nebulæ, and numerous Illustrations. New Edition (36th thousand), revised throughout. Fcap. 8vo. 5*s.* 6*d.*

QUESTIONS ON LOCKYER'S ELEMENTARY LESSONS IN ASTRONOMY. For the Use of Schools. By JOHN FORBES-ROBERTSON. 18mo, cloth limp. 1*s.* 6*d.*

THE CHEMISTRY OF THE SUN. With Illustrations. 8vo. 14*s.*

THE METEORIC HYPOTHESIS. With Illustrations. 8vo. [*In the press.*

THE EVOLUTION OF THE HEAVENS AND THE EARTH. Crown 8vo. With Illustrations. [*In the press.*

Newcomb.—POPULAR ASTRONOMY. By S. NEWCOMB, LL.D., Professor U.S. Naval Observatory. With 112 Illustrations and 5 Maps of the Stars. Second Edition, revised. 8vo. 18*s.*

"It is unlike anything else of its kind, and will be of more use in circulating a knowledge of Astronomy than nine-tenths of the books which have appeared on the subject of late years."—SATURDAY REVIEW.

CHEMISTRY.

Armstrong.—A MANUAL OF INORGANIC CHEMISTRY. By HENRY ARMSTRONG, Ph.D., F.R.S., Professor of Chemistry in the City and Guilds of London Technical Institute. Crown 8vo. [*In preparation.*

Cohen.—THE OWENS COLLEGE COURSE OF PRACTICAL ORGANIC CHEMISTRY. By JULIUS B. COHEN, Ph.D., F.C.S., Assistant Lecturer on Chemistry in the Owens College, Manchester. With a Preface by Sir HENRY ROSCOE, F.R.S., and C. SCHORLEMMER, F.R.S. Fcap. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Cooke.—ELEMENTS OF CHEMICAL PHYSICS. By JOSIAH P. COOKE, Junr., Erving Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy in Harvard University. Fourth Edition. Royal 8vo. 21*s.*

Fleischer.—A SYSTEM OF VOLUMETRIC ANALYSIS. By EMIL FLEISCHER. Translated, with Notes and Additions, from the Second German Edition by M. M. PATTISON MUIR, F.R.S.E. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Frankland.—AGRICULTURAL CHEMICAL ANALYSIS. A Handbook of. By PERCY FARADAY FRANKLAND, Ph.D., B.Sc., F.C.S., Associate of the Royal School of Mines, and Demonstrator of Practical and Agricultural Chemistry in the Normal School of Science and Royal School of Mines, South Kensington Museum. Founded upon *Leitfaden für die Agricultur Chemiche Analyse*, von Dr. F. KROCKER. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Hartley.—A COURSE OF QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS FOR STUDENTS. By W. NOEL HARTLEY, F.R.S., Professor of Chemistry, and of Applied Chemistry, Science and Art Department, Royal College of Science, Dublin. Globe 8vo. 5*s.*

Hiorns.—Works by ARTHUR H. HIORNS, Principal of
of Metallurgy, Birmingham and Midland Institute.

PRACTICAL METALLURGY AND ASSAYING. A
for the use of Teachers, Students, and Assayers. Wi
tions. Globe 8vo. 6*s.*

A TEXT-BOOK OF ELEMENTARY METALLU
THE USE OF STUDENTS. To which is added a
of Examination Questions, embracing the whole of th
set in the three stages of the subject by the Scien
Department for the past twenty years. Globe 8vo.

IRON AND STEEL MANUFACTURE. A Te
Beginners. Illustrated. Globe 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Jones.—Works by FRANCIS JONES, F.R.S.E., F.C.S.
Master in the Grammar School, Manchester.

THE OWENS COLLEGE JUNIOR COURSE O
TICAL CHEMISTRY. With Preface by Sir HEN
F.R.S., and Illustrations. New Edition. 18mo. 2*s.*

QUESTIONS ON CHEMISTRY. A Series of Pr
Exercises in Inorganic and Organic Chemistry. Fcap.

Landauer.—BLOWPIPE ANALYSIS. By J.
Authorised English Edition by J. TAYLOR and W.
Owens College, Manchester. [*New Edition in*

Lupton.—CHEMICAL ARITHMETIC. With 1 20

Remsen.—Works by IRA REMSEN, Professor of Chemistry in the Johns Hopkins University.

COMPOUNDS OF CARBON; or, Organic Chemistry, an Introduction to the Study of. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.*

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF CHEMISTRY (INORGANIC CHEMISTRY). Crown 8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.*

THE ELEMENTS OF CHEMISTRY. A Text Book for Beginners. New Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

A TEXT-BOOK OF INORGANIC CHEMISTRY. Medium 8vo. 16*s.*

Roscoe.—Works by Sir HENRY E. ROSCOE, F.R.S., formerly Professor of Chemistry in the Victoria University the Owens College, Manchester.

PRIMER OF CHEMISTRY. With numerous Illustrations. New Edition. With Questions. 18mo. 1*s.* (*Science Primers.*)

LESSONS IN ELEMENTARY CHEMISTRY, INORGANIC AND ORGANIC. With numerous Illustrations and Chromolitho of the Solar Spectrum, and of the Alkalies and Alkaline Earths. New Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.* (*See under* THORPE.)

Roscoe and Schorlemmer.—INORGANIC AND ORGANIC CHEMISTRY. A Complete Treatise on Inorganic and Organic Chemistry. By Sir HENRY E. ROSCOE, F.R.S., and Prof. C. SCHORLEMMER, F.R.S. With Illustrations. Medium 8vo.

Vols. I. and II.—INORGANIC CHEMISTRY.

Vol. I.—The Non-Metallic Elements. Second Edition, revised. 21*s.* Vol. II. Part I.—Metals. 18*s.* Vol. II. Part II.—Metals. New and thoroughly Revised Edition. 18*s.*

Vol. III.—ORGANIC CHEMISTRY.

THE CHEMISTRY OF THE HYDROCARBONS and their Derivatives, or ORGANIC CHEMISTRY. With numerous Illustrations. Five Parts. Parts I., II., and IV. 21*s.* each. Parts III. and V. 18*s.* each.

Thorpe.—A SERIES OF CHEMICAL PROBLEMS, prepared with Special Reference to Sir H. E. Roscoe's Lessons in Elementary Chemistry, by T. E. THORPE, Ph.D., F.R.S., Professor of Chemistry in the Normal School of Science, South Kensington, adapted for the Preparation of Students for the Government, Science, and Society of Arts Examinations. With a Preface by Sir HENRY E. ROSCOE, F.R.S. New Edition, with Key. 18mo. 2*s.*

Thorpe and Rücker.—A TREATISE ON CHEMICAL PHYSICS. By T. E. THORPE, Ph.D., F.R.S., Professor of Chemistry in the Normal School of Science, and Professor A. W. RÜCKER. Illustrated. 8vo. [*In preparation.*

Wright.—METALS AND THEIR CHIEF INDUSTRIAL APPLICATIONS. By C. ALDER WRIGHT, D.Sc., &c., Lecturer on Chemistry in St. Mary's Hospital Medical School. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Be
Bow
Darw
Eimer

Foster.—Works by MICHAEL FOSTER, M.D., Sec. R.S., Professor of Physiology in the University of Cambridge.

PRIMER OF PHYSIOLOGY. With numerous Illustrations. New Edition. 18mo. 1*s.*

A TEXT-BOOK OF PHYSIOLOGY. With Illustrations. Fifth Edition, largely revised. In Three Parts. Part I., comprising Book I. Blood—The Tissues of Movement, The Vascular Mechanism. 10*s.* 6*d.* Part II., comprising Book II. The Tissues of Chemical Action, with their Respective Mechanisms—Nutrition. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Part III. is in the press preparing for early publication.

Foster and Balfour.—THE ELEMENTS OF EMBRYOLOGY. By MICHAEL FOSTER, M.A., M.D., LL.D., Sec. R.S., Professor of Physiology in the University of Cambridge, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the late FRANCIS M. BALFOUR, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Professor of Animal Morphology in the University. Second Edition, revised. Edited by ADAM SEDGWICK, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge, and WALTER HEAPE, Demonstrator in the Morphological Laboratory of the University of Cambridge. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Foster and Langley.—A COURSE OF ELEMENTARY PRACTICAL PHYSIOLOGY AND HISTOLOGY. By Prof. MICHAEL FOSTER, M.D., F.R.S., &c., and J. N. LANGLEY, M.A., F.R.S., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Sixth Edition. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Gamgee.—A TEXT-BOOK OF THE PHYSIOLOGICAL CHEMISTRY OF THE ANIMAL BODY. Including an Account of the Chemical Changes occurring in Disease. By A. GAMGEE, M.D., F.R.S., formerly Professor of Physiology in the Victoria University the Owens College, Manchester. 2 Vols. 8vo. With Illustrations. Vol. I. 18*s.* [*Vol. II. in the press.*

Gray.—STRUCTURAL BOTANY, OR ORGANOGRAPHY ON THE BASIS OF MORPHOLOGY. To which are added the principles of Taxonomy and Phytography, and a Glossary of Botanical Terms. By Professor ASA GRAY, LL.D. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

THE SCIENTIFIC PAPERS OF ASA GRAY. Selected by CHARLES SPRAGUE SARGENT. 2 vols. Vol. I. Reviews of Works on Botany and Related Subjects, 1834–1887. Vol. II. Essays; Biographical Sketches, 1841–1886. Demy 8vo. 21*s.*

Hamilton.—A SYSTEMATIC AND PRACTICAL TEXT-BOOK OF PATHOLOGY. By D. J. HAMILTON, F.R.C.S.E., F.R.S.E., Professor of Pathological Anatomy, University of Aberdeen. *Copiously* Illustrated. 8vo. Volume I. 25*s.*

Hooker.—Works by Sir J. D. HOOKER, K.C.S.I., C.B., M.D., F.R.S., D.C.L.

PRIMER OF BOTANY. With numerous Illustrations. New Edition. 18mo. 1s. (*Science Primers.*)

THE STUDENT'S FLORA OF THE BRITISH ISLANDS. Third Edition, revised. Globe 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Howes.—AN ATLAS OF PRACTICAL ELEMENTARY BIOLOGY. By G. B. HOWES, Assistant Professor of Zoology Normal School of Science and Royal School of Mines. With Preface by THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY, F.R.S. Royal 4to. 14s.

Huxley.—Works by THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY, F.R.S.

INTRODUCTORY PRIMER OF SCIENCE. 18mo. 1 (*Science Primers.*)

LESSONS IN ELEMENTARY PHYSIOLOGY. With numero Illustrations. New Edition Revised. Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

QUESTIONS ON HUXLEY'S PHYSIOLOGY FOR SCHOOL By T. ALCOCK, M.D. New Edition. 18mo. 1s. 6d.

Huxley and Martin.—A COURSE OF PRACTICAL I STRUCTION IN ELEMENTARY BIOLOGY. By T. H HUXLEY, F.R.S., LL.D., assisted by H. N. MARTIN, M.A M.B., D.Sc., F.R.S., Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridg New Edition, revised and extended by G. B. HOWES, Assista Professor of Zoology, Normal School of Science, and Royal Scho of Mines, and D. H. SCOTT, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor Botany, Normal School of Science, and Royal School of Mine New Edition, thoroughly revised. With a Preface by T. H HUXLEY, F.R.S. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Klein.—Works by E. KLEIN, M.D., F.R.S., Lecturer on Gener Anatomy and Physiology in the Medical School of St. Bartholo mew's Hospital, Professor of Bacteriology at the College of Sta Medicine, London.

MICRO-ORGANISMS AND DISEASE. An Introduction in the Study of Specific Micro-Organisms. With 121 Illustration Third Edition, Revised. Crown 8vo. 6s.

THE BACTERIA IN ASIATIC CHOLERA. Crown 8vo. 5

Lankester.—Works by Professor E. RAY LANKESTER, F.R.S.

A TEXT BOOK OF ZOOLOGY. 8vo. [*In preparation*

DEGENERATION: A CHAPTER IN DARWINISM. Illu trated. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. (*Nature Series.*)

Lubbock.—Works by Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, M.P., F.R.S., D.C.L THE ORIGIN AND METAMORPHOSES OF INSECTS With numerous Illustrations. New Edition. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d (*Nature Series.*)

ON BRITISH WILD FLOWERS CONSIDERED IN RE LATION TO INSECTS. With numerous Illustrations. New Edition. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d. (Nature Series.)

Lubbock.—FLOWERS, FRUITS, AND LEAVES. With Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. *4s. 6d.* (*Nature Series.*)

Martin and Moale.—ON THE DISSECTION OF VERTEBRATE ANIMALS. By Professor H. N. MARTIN and W. A. MOALE. Crown 8vo. [*In preparation.*

Mivart.—Works by ST. GEORGE MIVART, F.R.S., Lecturer on Comparative Anatomy at St. Mary's Hospital.

LESSONS IN ELEMENTARY ANATOMY. With upwards of 400 Illustrations. Fcap. 8vo. *6s. 6d.*

THE COMMON FROG. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. *3s. 6d.* (*Nature Series.*)

Müller.—THE FERTILISATION OF FLOWERS. By Professor HERMANN MÜLLER. Translated and Edited by D'ARCY W. THOMPSON, B.A., Professor of Biology in University College, Dundee. With a Preface by CHARLES DARWIN, F.R.S. With numerous Illustrations. Medium 8vo. *21s.*

Oliver.—Works by DANIEL OLIVER, F.R.S., &c., Professor of Botany in University College, London, &c.

FIRST BOOK OF INDIAN BOTANY. With numerous Illustrations. Extra fcap. 8vo. *6s. 6d.*

LESSONS IN ELEMENTARY BOTANY. With nearly 200 Illustrations. New Edition. Fcap. 8vo. *4s. 6d.*

Parker.—A COURSE OF INSTRUCTION IN ZOOTOMY (VERTEBRATA). By T. JEFFREY PARKER, B.Sc. London, Professor of Biology in the University of Otago, New Zealand. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. *8s. 6d.*

LESSONS IN ELEMENTARY BIOLOGY. By the same Author. With Illustrations. 8vo. [*In the press.*

Parker and Bettany.—THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE SKULL. By Professor W. K. PARKER, F.R.S., and G. T. BETTANY, M.A., F.L.S. Illustrated. Crown 8vo. *10s. 6d.*

Romanes.—THE SCIENTIFIC EVIDENCES OF ORGANIC EVOLUTION. By GEORGE J. ROMANES, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., Zoological Secretary of the Linnean Society. Crown 8vo. *2s. 6d.* (*Nature Series.*)

Sedgwick.—A SUPPLEMENT TO F. M. BALFOUR'S TREATISE ON EMBRYOLOGY. By ADAM SEDGWICK, M.A., F.R.S., Fellow and Lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge Illustrated. 8vo. [*In preparation.*

Smith (W. G.).—DISEASES OF FIELD AND GARDEN CROPS, CHIEFLY SUCH AS ARE CAUSED BY FUNGI. By WORTHINGTON G. SMITH, F.L.S., M.A.I., Member of the Scientific Committee R.H.S. With 143 New Illustrations drawn and engraved from Nature by the Author. Fcap. 8vo. *4s. 6d.*

Stewart—Corry.—A FLORA OF TH
IRELAND. Including the Phanerog
Vascularia, and the Muscineæ. By
STEWART, Fellow of the Botanical Society
of the Collections in the Belfast Museum, a
of the Belfast Natural History and Philosop
late THOMAS HUGHES CORRY, M.A., F.L.S
F.B.S. Edin., Lecturer on Botany in the Un
Science Schools, Cambridge, Assistant Curat
Herbarium, &c., &c. Crown 8vo. 5s. 6d.

Wallace.—DARWINISM. An Exposition o
Natural Selection with some of its applicatio
RUSSEL WALLACE, LL.D., F.L.S., Author o
Archipelago," "The Geographical Distribution
"Island Life," &c. Third Edition. Crown 8vo.

Ward.—TIMBER AND SOME OF ITS DISEAS
MARSHALL WARD, M.A., F.R.S., F.L.S., late Fell
College, Cambridge; Professor of Botany in the R
Engineering College, Cooper's Hill. With Illustratio
8vo. 6s. (*Nature Series.*)

Wiedersheim (Prof.).—ELEMENTS OF THE
PARATIVE ANATOMY OF VERTEBRATES.
from the German of ROBERT WIEDERSHEIM, Professor
tomy, and Director of the Institute of Human and Com
Anatomy in the University of Freiburg-in-Baden,
NEWTON PARKER, Professor of Biology in the University
of South Wales and Monmouthshire. With Additions
Author and Translator. With Two Hundred and Seventy
cuts. Medium 8vo. 12s. 6d.

MEDICINE.

runton.—Works by T. LAUDER BRUNTON, M.D., D.Sc.
F.R.C.P., F.R.S., Assistant Physician and Lecturer on Materia
Medica at St. Bartholomew's Hospital; Examiner in Materia
Medica in the University of London, in the Victoria University,
nd in the Royal College of Physicians, London; late Examiner
the University of Edinburgh.

EXT-BOOK OF PHARMACOLOGY, THERAPEUTICS,
D MATERIA MEDICA. Adapted to the United States
rmacopœia, by FRANCIS H. WILLIAMS, M.D., Boston, Mass.
d Edition. Adapted to the New British Pharmacopœia, 1885.
um 8vo. 21s.

S OF MATERIA MEDICA: A Companion to it
Museum. With Illustrations. New
r Issue. 8vo. 5s.

Griffiths.—LESSONS ON PRESCRIPTIONS AND THE ART OF PRESCRIBING. By W. HANDSEL GRIFFITHS, Ph.D., L.R.C.P.E. New Edition. Adapted to the Pharmacopœia, 1885. 18mo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Hamilton.—A TEXT-BOOK OF PATHOLOGY, SYSTEMATIC AND PRACTICAL. By D. J. HAMILTON, M.B., F.R.C.S.E., F.R.S.E., Professor of Pathological Anatomy, University of Aberdeen. Copiously Illustrated. Vol. I. 8vo. 25*s.*

Klein.—Works by E. KLEIN, M.D., F.R.S., Lecturer on General Anatomy and Physiology in the Medical School of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London.

MICRO-ORGANISMS AND DISEASE. An Introduction into the Study of Specific Micro-Organisms. With 121 Illustrations. Third Edition, Revised. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

THE BACTERIA IN ASIATIC CHOLERA. By the Same Author. Crown 8vo. 5*s.*

White.—A TEXT-BOOK OF GENERAL THERAPEUTICS. By W. HALE WHITE, M.D., F.R.C.P., Senior Assistant Physician to and Lecturer in Materia Medica at Guy's Hospital. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 8*s.* 6*d.*

Ziegler-Macalister.—TEXT-BOOK OF PATHOLOGICAL ANATOMY AND PATHOGENESIS. By Professor ERNST ZIEGLER of Tübingen. Translated and Edited for English Students by DONALD MACALISTER, M.A., M.D., B.Sc., F.R.C.P., Fellow and Medical Lecturer of St. John's College, Cambridge, Physician to Addenbrooke's Hospital, and Teacher of Medicine in the University. With numerous Illustrations. Medium 8vo.

Part I.—GENERAL PATHOLOGICAL ANATOMY. Second Edition. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Part II.—SPECIAL PATHOLOGICAL ANATOMY. Sections I.—VIII. Second Edition. 12*s.* 6*d.* Sections IX.—XII. 12*s.* 6*d.*

MILITARY AND NAVAL SCIENCE.

Aitken (Sir W.).—THE GROWTH OF THE RECRUIT AND YOUNG SOLDIER. With a view to the selection of "Growing Lads" for the Army, and a Regulated System of Training for Recruits. By Sir WILLIAM AITKEN, Knt., M.D., F.R.S., Professor of Pathology in the Army Medical School, Examiner in Medicine for the Military Services of the Queen; Fellow of the Sanitary Institute of Great Britain; formerly Demonstrator of Anatomy in the University of Glasgow; and Pathologist attached to the Military Hospitals of Scutari during the Russian War. Crown 8vo. 8*s.* 6*d.*

Palmer.—TEXT BOOK OF P
AND TRIGONOMETRY. By
master R.N., H.M.S. *Cambridge*,

Robinson.—TREATISE ON MA
pared for the use of younger Naval
Examinations and Exercises princi
Royal Naval College. With the
ROBINSON, Chaplain and Instructo
Greenwich. With Illustrations. C

CONTENTS.—Symbols used in Charts and Surv
of Scales—Laying off Angles—Fixing Position
Drawing—Instruments and Observing—Base
Tides and Tidal Observations—Soundings—Cha
Method of Planning a Survey—Miscellaneous Exa

Shortland.—NAUTICAL SURVE
Admiral SHORTLAND, LL.D., late F
Cambridge. 8vo.

Wolseley.—Works by General Viscou
G.C.B.

THE SOLDIER'S POCKET-BOOK
Fifth Edition, Revised and Enlarged.
FIELD POCKET-BOOK FOR THE
ition, cloth. 12s. 6d.

Woolwich Mathematical Pap
the Royal Military Academy, Woolw
Edited by E. J. BROOKSMITH, B.A., L
Cambridge; Instructor in Mathematic
Academy, Woolwich. Crown 8vo. 6s.

ANTHROPOL

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY & GEOLOGY.

Blanford.—THE RUDIMENTS OF PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY FOR THE USE OF INDIAN SCHOOLS; with a Glossary of Technical Terms employed. By H. F. BLANFORD, F.G.S. New Edition, with Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Ferrel.—A POPULAR TREATISE ON THE WINDS. Comprising the General Motions of the Atmosphere, Monsoons, Cyclones, Tornadoes, Waterspouts, Hailstorms, &c. By WILLIAM FERREL, M.A., Ph.D., late Professor and Assistant in the Signal Service; Member of the American National Academy of Sciences, and of other Home and Foreign Scientific Societies. Demy 8vo. 18*s.*

Fisher.—PHYSICS OF THE EARTH'S CRUST. By the Rev. OSMOND FISHER, M.A., F.G.S., Rector of Harlton, Hon. Fellow of King's College, London, and late Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College, Cambridge. Second Edition, altered and enlarged. 8vo. 12*s.*

Geikie.—Works by ARCHIBALD GEIKIE, LL.D., F.R.S., Director-General of the Geological Survey of Great Britain and Ireland, and Director of the Museum of Practical Geology, London, formerly Murchison Professor of Geology and Mineralogy in the University of Edinburgh, &c.

PRIMER OF PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY. With numerous Illustrations. New Edition. With Questions. 18mo. 1*s.* (*Science Primers.*)

ELEMENTARY LESSONS IN PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY. With numerous Illustrations. New Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*
QUESTIONS ON THE SAME. 1*s.* 6*d.*

PRIMER OF GEOLOGY. With numerous Illustrations. New Edition. 18mo. 1*s.* (*Science Primers.*)

CLASS BOOK OF GEOLOGY. With upwards of 200 New Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

TEXT-BOOK OF GEOLOGY. With numerous Illustrations. Second Edition, Seventh Thousand, Revised and Enlarged. 8vo. 28*s.*

OUTLINES OF FIELD GEOLOGY. With Illustrations. New Edition. Extra fcap. 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

THE SCENERY AND GEOLOGY OF SCOTLAND, VIEWED IN CONNEXION WITH ITS PHYSICAL GEOLOGY. With numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 12*s.* 6*d.*

(See also under *Geography.*)

Huxley.—PHYSIOGRAPHY. An Introduction to the Study of Nature. By THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY, F.R.S. With numerous Illustrations, and Coloured Plates. New and Cheaper Edition. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

Lockyer.—OUTLINES OF PHYSIOGRAPHY—T
MENTS OF THE EARTH. By J. NORMAN LOCKY
Correspondent of the Institute of France, Foreign
the Academy of the Lyncei of Rome, &c., &c.;
Astronomical Physics in the Normal School of
Examiner in Physiography for the Science and Art
With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. Sewed, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Phillips.—A TREATISE ON ORE DEPOSITS. B
PHILLIPS, F.R.S., V.P.G.S., F.C.S., M.Inst.C.E.,
de l'École des Mines, Paris; Author of "A Manual o
"The Mining and Metallurgy of Gold and Silver
numerous Illustrations. 8vo. 25*s.*

Rosenbusch — Iddings. — MICROSCOPICA
GRAPHY OF THE ROCK-MAKING MINE
AID TO THE MICROSCOPICAL STUDY OF
H. ROSENBUSCH. Translated and Abridged for U
and Colleges. By JOSEPH P. IDDINGS. Illust
Woodcuts and 26 Photomicrographs. 8vo, 24*s.*

AGRICULTURE.

Frankland.—AGRICULTURAL CHEMICAL
A Handbook of. By PERCY FARADAY FRANKL
B.Sc., F.C.S., Associate of the Royal School of
Demonstrator of Practical and Agricultural Chem
Normal School of Science and Royal School of
Kensington Museum. Founded upon *Leitfaden für d*
Chemiche Analyse, von Dr. F. KROCKER. Crown 8

Smith (Worthington G.).—DISEASES OF F
GARDEN CROPS, CHIEFLY SUCH AS ARE C
FUNGI. By WORTHINGTON G. SMITH, F.L.
Member of the Scientific Committee of the R.H.S
Illustrations, drawn and engraved from Nature by
Fcap. 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Tanner.—Works by HENRY TANNER, F.C.S.,
Examiner in the Principles of Agriculture under the
Department of Science; Director of Education in the
Agriculture, South Kensington, London; sometime
Agricultural Science, University College, Aberystwith.
ELEMENTARY LESSONS IN THE SCIENCE
CULTURAL PRACTICE. Fcap. 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*
FIRST PRINCIPLES OF AGRICULTURE. 18m
THE PRINCIPLES OF AGRICULTURE. A Serie
Books for use in Elementary Schools. Prepared
TANNER, F.C.S., M.R.A.C. Extra fcap. 8vo.
I. The Alphabet of the Principles of Agriculture.
II. Further Steps in the Principles of Agriculture.
III. Elementary School Readings on the Principles of
for the third stage. 1*s.*

Ward.—TIMBER AND SOME OF ITS DISEASES. By H. MARSHALL WARD, M.A., F.L.S., F.R.S., Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, Professor of Botany at the Royal Indian Engineering College, Cooper's Hill. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 6*s*. (*Nature Series.*)

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Böhm-Bauerk.—CAPITAL AND INTEREST. Translated by WILLIAM SMART. 8vo. [*In the press.*

Cairnes.—THE CHARACTER AND LOGICAL METHOD OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. By J. E. CAIRNES, LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Political Economy in University College, London. New Edition. Crown 8vo. 6*s*.

Cossa.—GUIDE TO THE STUDY OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. By Dr. LUIGI COSSA, Professor in the University of Pavia. Translated from the Second Italian Edition. With a Preface by W. STANLEY JEVONS, F.R.S. Crown 8vo. 4*s*. 6*d*.

Donisthorpe.—INDIVIDUALISM: A System of Politics. By WORDSWORTH DONISTHORPE. 8vo. 14*s*.

Fawcett (Mrs.).—Works by Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT.—POLITICAL ECONOMY FOR BEGINNERS, WITH QUESTIONS. Fourth Edition. 18mo. 2*s*. 6*d*.

TALES IN POLITICAL ECONOMY. Crown 8vo. 3*s*.

Fawcett.—A MANUAL OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. By Right Hon. HENRY FAWCETT, F.R.S. Seventh Edition, revised, with a chapter on "State Socialism and the Nationalisation of the Land," and an Index. Crown 8vo. 12*s*.

AN EXPLANATORY DIGEST of the above. By CYRIL A. WATERS, B.A. Crown 8vo. 2*s*. 6*d*.

Gunton.—WEALTH AND PROGRESS: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE WAGES QUESTION AND ITS ECONOMIC RELATION TO SOCIAL REFORM. By GEORGE GUNTON. Crown 8vo. 6*s*.

Jevons.—Works by W. STANLEY JEVONS, LL.D. (Edinb.), M.A. (Lond.), F.R.S., late Professor of Political Economy in University College, London, Examiner in Mental and Moral Science in the University of London.

PRIMER OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. New Edition. 18mo. 1*s*. (*Science Primers.*)

THE THEORY OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. Third Edition. Revised. Demy 8vo. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Keynes.—THE SCOPE AND METHOD OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. By J. N. KEYNES, M.A. [*In preparation.*

Marshall.—THE ECONOMICS OF INDUSTRY. By A. MARSHALL, M.A., Professor of Political Economy in the University of Cambridge, and MARY P. MARSHALL, late Lecturer at *Newnham Hall*, Cambridge. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2*s*. 6*d*.

Marshall.—ECONOMICS. By ALFRED M
fessor of Political Economy in the Un
2 vols. 8vo.

Palgrave.—A DICTIONARY OF POL
By various Writers. Edited by R. H. I

Sidgwick.—THE PRINCIPLES OF PO
By HENRY SIDGWICK, M.A., LL.D.,
of Moral Philosophy in the University of
of "The Methods of Ethics." Second E
THE ELEMENTS OF POLITICS. B

Walker.—Works by FRANCIS A. WALK
of "Money," "Money in its Relation t
POLITICAL ECONOMY. Second Edit
8vo. 12s. 6d.
A BRIEF TEXT-BOOK OF POL
Crown 8vo. 6s. 6d.
THE WAGES QUESTION. 8vo. 14s.

Wicksteed.—ALPHABET OF ECON
PHILIP H. WICKSTEED, M.A. Part I.
of Value or Worth. Globe 8vo. 2s. 6

MENTAL AND MORAL P

Boole.—THE MATHEMATICAL AN
Being an Essay towards a Calculus of D
GEORGE BOOLE. 8vo. Sewed. 5s.

Calderwood.—HANDBOOK OF MO
By the Rev. HENRY CALDERWOOD, LL
Philosophy, University of Edinburgh. Fo
rewritten. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

Clifford.—SEEING AND THINKING.
W. K. CLIFFORD, F.R.S. With Diagram
(*Nature Series.*)

Jardine.—THE ELEMENTS OF THE
COGNITION. By the Rev. ROBERT
(Edin.), Ex-Principal of the General Asse
Third Edition, revised and improved. C

Jevons.—Works by the late W. STANLEY
F.R.S.
PRIMER OF LOGIC. New Edition. 18m
ELEMENTARY LESSONS IN LOGIC
tive, with copious Questions and Exam
Logical Terms. New Edition. Fcap. 8
THE PRINCIPLES OF SCIENCE.
Scientific Method. New and Revised Edi

Jevons.—STUDIES IN DEDUCTIVE LOGIC. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 6*s*.

LOGICAL PAPERS. 8vo. [*In preparation.*

Kant—Max Müller.—CRITIQUE OF PURE REASON. By IMMANUEL KANT. In commemoration of the Centenary of its first Publication. Translated into English by F. MAX MÜLLER. With an Historical Introduction by LUDWIG NOIRÉ. 2 vols. 8vo. 16*s*. each.

Volume I. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION, by LUDWIG NOIRÉ; &c., &c.

Volume II. CRITIQUE OF PURE REASON, translated by F. MAX MÜLLER.

For the convenience of students these volumes are now sold separately.

Kant—Mahaffy and Bernard.—KANT'S CRITICAL PHILOSOPHY FOR ENGLISH READERS. By J. P. MAHAFFY, D.D., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Dublin, Professor of Ancient History in the University of Dublin, and JOHN H. BERNARD, B.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, Archbishop King's Lecturer in Divinity in the University of Dublin. A new and completed Edition in 2 vols. Crown 8vo.

Vol. I. THE KRITIK OF PURE REASON EXPLAINED AND DEFENDED. 7*s*. 6*d*.

Vol. II. THE "PROLEGOMENA." Translated with Notes and Appendices. 6*s*.

Keynes.—FORMAL LOGIC, Studies and Exercises in. Including a Generalisation of Logical Processes in their application to Complex Inferences. By JOHN NEVILLE KEYNES, M.A., late Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Crown 8vo. 10*s*. 6*d*.

McCosh.—Works by JAMES MCCOSH, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., President of Princeton College, Author of "Intuitions of the Mind," "Laws of Discursive Thought," &c.

PSYCHOLOGY. Crown 8vo.

I. THE COGNITIVE POWERS. 6*s*. 6*d*.

II. THE MOTIVE POWERS. Crown 8vo. 6*s*. 6*d*.

FIRST AND FUNDAMENTAL TRUTHS: being a Treatise on Metaphysics. Extra crown 8vo. 9*s*.

Ray.—A TEXT-BOOK OF DEDUCTIVE LOGIC FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS. By P. K. RAY, D.Sc. (Lon. and Edin.), Professor of Logic and Philosophy, Presidency College Calcutta. Fourth Edition. Globe 8vo. 4*s*. 6*d*.

The SCHOOLMASTER says:—"This work . . . is deservedly taking a place among the recognised text-books on Logic."

Sidgwick.—Works by HENRY SIDGWICK, M.A., LL.D., Knightbridge Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge.

THE METHODS OF ETHICS. Third Edition. 8vo. 14*s*. A Supplement to the Second Edition, containing all the important *Additions* and Alterations in the Third Edition. Demy 8vo. 6

Province of the Theory of Probabili
its Logical Bearings and its Appli
Science. Third Edition, rewritten a
8vo. 10s. 6d.

SYMBOLIC LOGIC. Crown 8vo. 5

THE PRINCIPLES OF EMPIRI
LOGIC. Medium 8vo. 18s.

GEOGRAP

Bartholomew.—Works by JOHN B
THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL A
This Elementary Atlas is designed to
books on Elementary Geography.

PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL SC
of 80 Maps and complete Index. Pr
Pupils. Royal 4to.

THE LIBRARY REFERENCE AT
A complete Series of 84 Modern Map
to 100,000 places. Half-morocco. Gi
net.

*** This work has been designed with
public with a thoroughly complete an
Geography, in a convenient reference
price.

Clarke.—CLASS-BOOK OF GEOGR

Geikie.—THE TEACHING OF GEOGRAPHY. A Practical Handbook for the use of Teachers. Crown 8vo. 2*s.* Being Volume I. of a New Geographical Series Edited by ARCHIBALD GEIKIE, F.R.S.

*** The aim of this volume is to advocate the claims of geography as an educational discipline of a high order, and to show how these claims may be practically recognised by teachers.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH ISLES. 18mo. 1*s.*

Green. — A SHORT GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH ISLANDS. By JOHN RICHARD GREEN and ALICE STOPFORD GREEN. With Maps. Fcap. 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Grove.—A PRIMER OF GEOGRAPHY. By Sir GEORGE GROVE, D.C.L. With Illustrations. 18mo. 1*s.* (*Science Primers.*)

Kiepert.—A MANUAL OF ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY. From the German of Dr. H. KIEPERT. Crown 8vo. 5*s.*

Macmillan's Geographical Series. Edited by ARCHIBALD GEIKIE, F.R.S., Director-General of the Geological Survey of the United Kingdom.

The following List of Volumes is contemplated :—

THE TEACHING OF GEOGRAPHY. A Practical Handbook for the use of Teachers. By ARCHIBALD GEIKIE, F.R.S., Director-General of the Geological Survey of the United Kingdom, and Director of the Museum of Practical Geology, Jermyn Street, London ; formerly Murchison Professor of Geology and Mineralogy in the University of Edinburgh. Crown 8vo. 2*s.*

*** The aim of this volume is to advocate the claims of geography as an educational discipline of a high order, and to show how these claims may be practically recognized by teachers.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH ISLES. By ARCHIBALD GEIKIE, F.R.S. 18mo. 1*s.*

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ATLAS. With 24 Maps in Colours, specially designed to illustrate all Elementary Text-books of Geography. By JOHN BARTHOLOMEW. F.R.G.S. 4to. 1*s.*

AN ELEMENTARY CLASS-BOOK OF GENERAL GEOGRAPHY. By HUGH ROBERT MILL, D.Sc. Edin. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH COLONIES. By GEORGE M. DAWSON and ALEXANDER SUTHERLAND. [*In preparation.*

GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE. By JAMES SIME, M.A. With Illustrations. Globe 8vo. [*In the press.*

GEOGRAPHY OF NORTH AMERICA. By Professor N. S. SHALER. [*In preparation.*

MAPS AND MAP-MAKING. By WILLIAM A. ELDERTON. [*In the press.*

GEOGRAPHY OF ASIA.

GEOGRAPHY OF AFRICA.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE OCEANS AND OCEANIC ISLANDS

Macmillan's Geographical Series—*cont*

ADVANCED CLASS-BOOK OF THE GEOG
BRITAIN.

GEOGRAPHY OF AUSTRALIA AND NEW Z

GEOGRAPHY OF AMERICA.

GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA. By H. F. BLANFORD,

ADVANCED CLASS-BOOK OF THE GEOGR
EUROPE.

Mill.—AN ELEMENTARY CLASS-BOOK OF
GEOGRAPHY. By HUGH ROBERT MILL, D.Sc.
Lecturer on Physiography and on Commercial Geogr
Heriot-Watt College, Edinburgh. With Illustration
8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Sime.—A GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE. By JAMES S
With Illustrations. Globe 8vo. [*In*

Strachey.—LECTURES ON GEOGRAPHY. By G
STRACHEY, R.E., C.S.I., President of the Royal Ge
Society. Crown 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

HISTORY.

Arnold (T.).—THE SECOND PUNIC WAR. Being
from THE HISTORY OF ROME. By THOMAS A
D.D. Edited, with Notes, by W. T. ARNOLD, M.A.
Maps. Crown 8vo. 8*s.* 6*d.*

Arnold (W. T.).—THE ROMAN SYSTEM OF PROVIN
ADMINISTRATION TO THE ACCESSION OF CONS
TINE THE GREAT. By W. T. ARNOLD, M.A. Crown 8
"Ought to prove a valuable handbook to the student of Roman hist
GUARDIAN.

Beesly.—STORIES FROM THE HISTORY OF RO
By Mrs. BEESLY. Fcap. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Bryce.—Works by JAMES BRYCE, D.C.L., Fellow of Oriel Col
and Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Oxford.
THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. Ninth Edition. Crown
7*s.* 6*d.*

** Also a *Library Edition*. Demy 8vo. 14*s.*

THE AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH. New and Chea
Edition. 2 vols. Extra crown 8vo. 25*s.* Part I.—The Natio
Government. Part II.—The State Governments. Part III.—T
Party System. Part IV.—Public Opinion. Part V.—Illustratio
and Reflections. Part VI.—Social Institutions.

Buckley.—A HISTORY OF ENGLAND FOR BEGINNERS
By ARABELLA B. BUCKLEY. Author of "A Short History o
Natural Science," &c. With Coloured Maps, Chronological an
Genealogical Tables. Globe 8vo. 3*s.*

Bury.—A HISTORY OF THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE FROM ARCADIUS TO IRENE, A.D. 395–800. By JOHN P. BURY, Fellow of Trinity Coll., Dublin. 2 vols. 8vo. 32*s.*

Du Pré.—OUTLINES OF ENGLISH HISTORY. By ARTHUR M. D. DU PRÉ, Assistant-Master in the Hull and East Riding College. Globe 8vo. [*In the press.*

Eggleston.—THE HOUSEHOLD HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS PEOPLE. By EDWARD EGGLESTON. With Illustrations. 4to. 12*s.*

English Statesmen, Twelve.—A Series of Short Biographies, not designed to be a complete roll of Famous Statesmen, but to present in historic order the lives and work of those leading actors in our affairs who by their direct influence have left an abiding mark on the policy, the institutions, and the position of Great Britain among States.

The following list of subjects is the result of careful selection. The great movements of national history are made to follow one another in a connected course, and the series is intended to form a continuous narrative of English freedom, order, and power. The volumes as follow, Crown 8vo, 2*s.* 6*d.* each, are ready or in preparation:—

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR. By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., LL.D. [*Ready.*
HENRY II. By Mrs. J. R. GREEN. [*Ready.*
EDWARD I. By F. YORK POWELL.
HENRY VII By JAMES GAIRDNER. [*Ready.*
CARDINAL WOLSEY. By Professor M. CREIGHTON. [*Ready.*
ELIZABETH. By E. S. BRESLEY.
OLIVER CROMWELL. By FREDERIC HARRISON. [*Ready.*
WILLIAM III. By H. D. TRAILL. [*Ready.*
WALPOLE. By JOHN MORLEY. [*Ready.*
CHATHAM. By JOHN MORLEY.
PITT. By JOHN MORLEY.
PEEL. By J. R. THURSFIELD. [*In the press.*

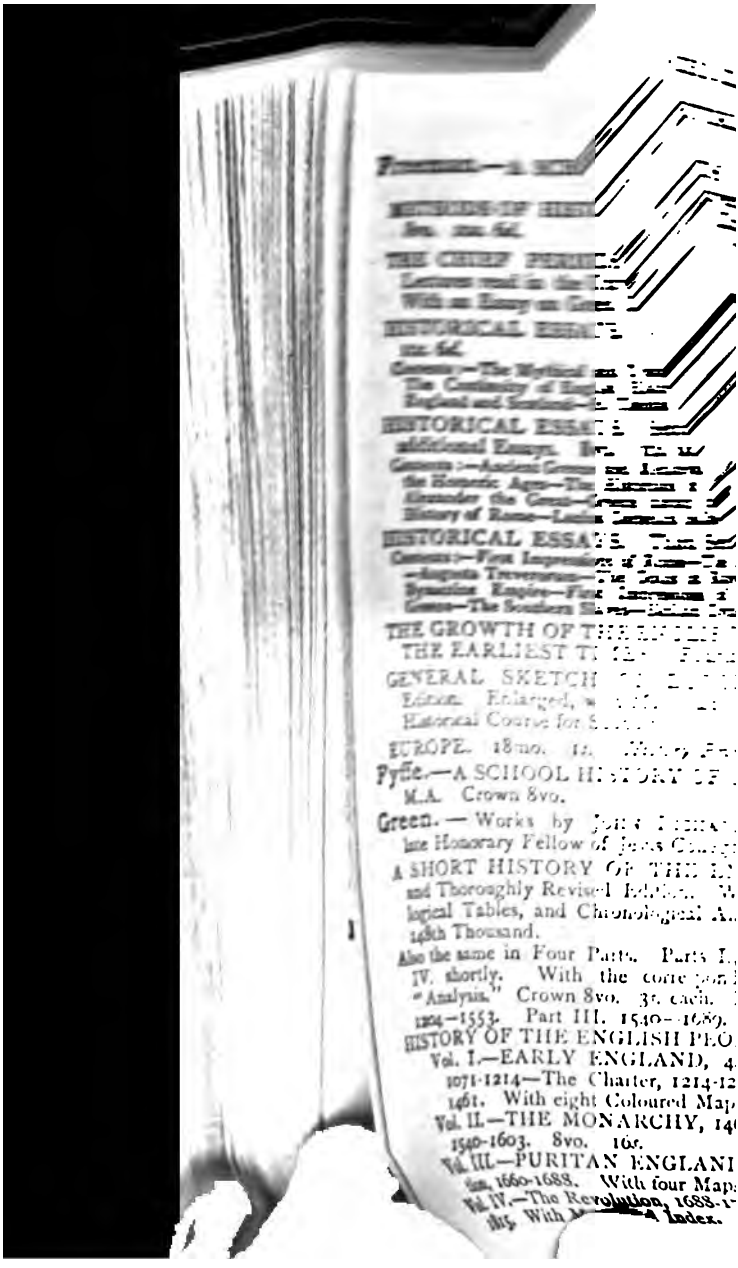
Fiske.—Works by JOHN FISKE, formerly Lecturer on Philosophy at Harvard University, author of "Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy, based on the Doctrine of Evolution, with Criticisms on the Positive Philosophy," "Darwinism, and other Essays," "American Political Ideas viewed from the Standpoint of Universal History."

THE CRITICAL PERIOD IN AMERICAN HISTORY, 1783—1789. Extra crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

THE BEGINNINGS OF NEW ENGLAND; or, The Puritan Theocracy in its Relations to Civil and Religious Liberty. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Freeman.—Works by EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., LL.D., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, &c.

OLD ENGLISH HISTORY. With Five Coloured Maps. New *Edition.* Extra fcap. 8vo. 6*s.*



Green.—THE MAKING OF ENGLAND. With Maps. 8vo. 16*s.*
THE CONQUEST OF ENGLAND. With Maps and Portrait. 8vo. 18*s.*
ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH HISTORY, based on Green's "Short History of the English People." By C. W. A. TAIT, M.A., Assistant-Master, Clifton College. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*
READINGS FROM ENGLISH HISTORY. Selected and Edited by JOHN RICHARD GREEN. Three Parts. Globe 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.* each. I. Hengist to Cressy. II. Cressy to Cromwell. III. Cromwell to Balaklava.

Guest.—LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By M. J. GUEST. With Maps. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

Historical Course for Schools—Edited by EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., LL.D., late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford.
I.—GENERAL SKETCH OF EUROPEAN HISTORY. By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L. New Edition, revised and enlarged, with Chronological Table, Maps, and Index. 18mo. 3*s.* 6*d.*
II.—HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By EDITH THOMPSON. New Ed., revised and enlarged, with Coloured Maps. 18mo. 2*s.* 6*d.*
III.—HISTORY OF SCOTLAND. By MARGARET MACARTHUR. New Edition. 18mo. 2*s.*
IV.—HISTORY OF ITALY. By the Rev. W. HUNT, M.A. New Edition, with Coloured Maps. 18mo. 3*s.* 6*d.*
V.—HISTORY OF GERMANY. By J. SIME, M.A. New Edition Revised. 18mo. 3*s.*
VI.—HISTORY OF AMERICA. By JOHN A. DOYLE. With Maps. 18mo. 4*s.* 6*d.*
VII.—EUROPEAN COLONIES. By E. J. PAYNE, M.A. With Maps. 18mo. 4*s.* 6*d.*
VIII.—FRANCE. By CHARLOTTE M. YONGE. With Maps. 18mo. 3*s.* 6*d.*
GREECE. By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L. [*In preparation.*
ROME. By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L. [*In preparation.*

History Primers—Edited by JOHN RICHARD GREEN, M.A., LL.D., Author of "A Short History of the English People."
ROME. By the Rev. M. CREIGHTON, M.A., Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge. With Eleven Maps. 18mo. 1*s.*
GREECE. By C. A. FYFFE, M.A., Fellow and late Tutor of University College, Oxford. With Five Maps. 18mo. 1*s.*
EUROPEAN HISTORY. By E. A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., LL.D. With Maps. 18mo. 1*s.*
GREEK ANTIQUITIES. By the Rev. J. P. MAHAFFY, M.A. Illustrated. 18mo. 1*s.*
CLASSICAL GEOGRAPHY. By H. F. TOZER, M.A. 18mo. 1*s.*
GEOGRAPHY. By Sir G. GROVE, D.C.L. Maps. 18mo. 1*s.*
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. By Professor WILKINS, Litt.D., LL.D. Illustrated. 18mo. 1*s.*
FRANCE. By CHARLOTTE M. YONGE. 18mo. 1*s.*

Hole.—A GENEALOGICAL STEMMA OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE. By the Rev. C. HOLE. On Sheet. 1*s.*

Jennings—CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES. A synchronistic arrangement of the events of Ancient History (with an Index). By the Rev. ARTHUR C. JENNINGS, Rector of King's Stanley, Gloucestershire, Author of "A Commentary on the Psalms," "Ecclesia Anglicana," "Manual of Church History," &c. 8vo. 5*s.*

Labberton.—NEW HISTORICAL ATLAS AND GENERAL HISTORY. By R. H. LABBERTON, Litt.Hum.D. 4to. New Edition Revised and Enlarged. 15*s.*

Lethbridge.—A SHORT MANUAL OF THE HISTORY OF INDIA. With an Account of INDIA AS IT IS. The Soil, Climate, and Productions; the People, their Races, Religions, Public Works, and Industries; the Civil Services, and System of Administration. By Sir ROPER LETHBRIDGE, M.A., C.I.E., late Scholar of Exeter College, Oxford, formerly Principal of Kishnaghur College, Bengal, Fellow and sometime Examiner of the Calcutta University. With Maps. Crown 8vo. 5*s.*

Mahaffy.—GREEK LIFE AND THOUGHT FROM THE AGE OF ALEXANDER TO THE ROMAN CONQUEST. By the Rev. J. P. MAHAFFY, M.A., D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, Author of "Social Life in Greece from Homer to Menander," "Rambles and Studies in Greece," &c. Crown 8vo. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Marriott.—THE MAKERS OF MODERN ITALY: MAZZINI, CAVOUR, GARIBALDI. Three Lectures delivered at Oxford. By J. A. R. MARRIOTT, M.A., New College and Worcester College, Oxford, Lecturer in Modern History and Political Economy. Crown 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Michelet.—A SUMMARY OF MODERN HISTORY. Translated from the French of M. MICHELET, and continued to the Present Time, by M. C. M. SIMPSON. Globe 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Norgate.—ENGLAND UNDER THE ANGEVIN KINGS. By KATE NORGATE. With Maps and Plans. 2 vols. 8vo. 32*s.*

Otté.—SCANDINAVIAN HISTORY. By E. C. OTTÉ. With Maps. Globe 8vo. 6*s.*

Seeley.—Works by J. R. SEELEY, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge.

THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND. Crown 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

OUR COLONIAL EXPANSION. Extracts from the above. Crown 8vo. Sewed. 1*s.*

Tait.—ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH HISTORY, based on Green's "Short History of the English People." By C. W. A. TAIT, M.A., Assistant-Master, Clifton College. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Wheeler.—Works by J. TALBOYS WHEELER.

A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIA AND OF THE FRONTIER STATES OF AFGHANISTAN, NEPAUL, AND BURMA. With Maps. Crown 8vo. *12s.*

COLLEGE HISTORY OF INDIA, ASIATIC AND EUROPEAN. With Maps. Crown 8vo. *3s. 6d.*

Yonge (Charlotte M.).—CAMEOS FROM ENGLISH HISTORY. By CHARLOTTE M. YONGE, Author of "The Heir of Redclyffe." Extra fcap. 8vo. New Edition. *5s.* each. (1) FROM ROLLO TO EDWARD II. (2) THE WARS IN FRANCE. (3) THE WARS OF THE ROSES. (4) REFORMATION TIMES. (5) ENGLAND AND SPAIN. (6) FORTY YEARS OF STUART RULE (1603—1643). (7) THE REBELLION AND RESTORATION (1642—1678.) [*Shortly.*

EUROPEAN HISTORY. Narrated in a Series of Historical Selections from the Best Authorities. Edited and arranged by E. M. SEWELL and C. M. YONGE. First Series, 1003—1154. New Edition. Crown 8vo. *6s.* Second Series, 1088—1228. New Edition. Crown 8vo. *6s.*

THE VICTORIAN HALF CENTURY—A JUBILEE BOOK. With a New Portrait of the Queen. Crown 8vo., paper covers, *1s.* Cloth, *1s. 6d.*

LAW.

Anglo-Saxon Law, Essays on.—Contents: Anglo-Saxon Law Courts, Land and Family Law, and Legal Procedure. Medium 8vo. *18s.*

Ball.—THE STUDENT'S GUIDE TO THE BAR. By WALTER W. R. BALL, M.A., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law; Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Fellow of University College, London. Fourth Edition Revised. Crown 8vo. *2s. 6d.*

Bigelow.—HISTORY OF PROCEDURE IN ENGLAND FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST. The Norman Period, 1066-1204. By MELVILLE MADISON BIGELOW, Ph.D., Harvard University. Demy 8vo. *16s.*

Bryce.—THE AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH. By JAMES BRYCE, M.P., D.C.L., Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Oxford, Author of "The Holy Roman Empire." Two Volumes. Extra Crown 8vo. *25s.* Part I. THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. Part II. THE STATE GOVERNMENTS. Part III. THE PARTY SYSTEM. Part IV. PUBLIC OPINION. Part V. ILLUSTRATIONS AND REFLECTIONS. Part VI. SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

M.A. (Oxon.), LL.D. (Glasgow).

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. By
Fellow of St. John's College, Ox

THE ELECTORATE AND THI
SPENCER WALPOLE, Author of "T
1815."

THE POOR LAW. By the Rev. T.

THE NATIONAL BUDGET; TH
TAXES AND RATES. By A. J.

THE STATE IN RELATION TO L
JEVONS, LL.D., F.R.S.

THE STATE AND THE CHURC
ELLIOT, M.P.

FOREIGN RELATIONS. By SPEN

THE STATE IN ITS RELATIO
T. H. FARRER, Bart., Permanent
Trade.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. By M. D.

THE STATE IN ITS RELATION
HENRY CRAIK, C.B., M.A., LL.D.

THE LAND LAWS. By Sir F. Pol
Trinity College, Cambridge, Profes
University of Oxford, &c. Second Ed

COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES

Maitland.—PLEAS OF THE CROWN FOR THE COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER BEFORE THE ABBOT OF READING AND HIS FELLOW JUSTICES ITINERANT, IN THE FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE THIRD, AND THE YEAR OF GRACE 1221. Edited by F. W. MAITLAND. 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

(See also under *English Citizen Series.*)

Paterson.—WORKS BY JAMES PATERSON, Barrister-at-Law.

COMMENTARIES ON THE LIBERTY OF THE SUBJECT AND THE LAWS OF ENGLAND RELATING TO THE SECURITY OF THE PERSON. Cheaper Issue. Two Vols. Crown 8vo. *21s.*

THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS, SPEECH, AND PUBLIC WORSHIP. Being Commentaries on the Liberty of the Subject and the Laws of England. Crown 8vo. *12s.*

Phillimore.—PRIVATE LAW AMONG THE ROMANS From the Pandects. By JOHN GEORGE PHILLIMORE, Q.C. 8vo. *16s.*

Pollock.—ESSAYS IN JURISPRUDENCE AND ETHICS By Sir FREDERICK POLLOCK, Bart., Barrister-at-Law, M.A. Hon. LL.D. Edin.; Corpus Christi Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Oxford; late Fellow of Trinity College Cambridge. 8vo. *10s. 6d.*

(See also under *English Citizen Series.*)

Richey.—THE IRISH LAND LAWS. By ALEXANDER G. RICHEY, Q.C., LL.D., Deputy Regius Professor of Feuda English Law in the University of Dublin. Crown 8vo. *3s. 6d.*

Stephen.—Works by Sir J. FITZJAMES STEPHEN, Q.C., K.C.S.I. a Judge of the High Court of Justice, Queen's Bench Division.

A DIGEST OF THE LAW OF EVIDENCE. Fifth Edition revised and enlarged. Crown 8vo. *6s.*

A DIGEST OF THE CRIMINAL LAW: CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS. Fourth Edition, revised. 8vo. *16s.*

A DIGEST OF THE LAW OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE IN INDICTABLE OFFENCES. By Sir JAMES F. STEPHEN K.C.S.I., &c., and HERBERT STEPHEN, LL.M., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 8vo. *12s. 6d.*

A HISTORY OF THE CRIMINAL LAW OF ENGLAND New and Revised Edition. Three Vols. 8vo. *48s.*

GENERAL VIEW OF THE CRIMINAL LAW OF ENGLAND Second Edition. 8vo. The first edition of this work was published in 1863. The new edition will be substantially a new work, intended as a text-book on the Criminal Law for Universities and other Students, adapted to the present day. [*In the press*

)DERN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE.

English, (2) French, (3) German, (4) Modern ', (5) Italian, (6) Spanish.

ENGLISH.

:t.—A SHAKESPEARIAN GRAMMAR. An attempt to strate some of the Differences between Elizabethan and Modern glish. By the Rev. E. A. ABBOTT, D.D., formerly Head ster of the City of London School. New Edition. Extra fcap. . 6*s.*

n.—ESSAYS. Edited by F. G. SELBY, M.A., Professor of gic and Moral Philosophy, Deccan College, Poona. Globe 8vo. 6*d.*

:.—REFLECTIONS ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. ited by F. G. SELBY, M.A. Globe 8vo. [*In the press.*

Globe Readers. For Standards I.—VI. Edited by A. F. MURISON, sometime English Master at the Aberdeen Grammar School. With Illustrations. Globe 8vo.

Primer I. (48 pp.)	3*d.*	Book III. (232 pp.)	1*s.* 3*d.*
Primer II. (48 pp.)	3*d.*	Book IV. (328 pp.)	1*s.* 9*d.*
Book I. (96 pp.)	6*d.*	Book V. (416 pp.)	2*s.*
Book II. (136 pp.)	9*d.*	Book VI. (448 pp.)	2*s.* 6*d.*

"Among the numerous sets of readers before the public the present series is honourably distinguished by the marked superiority of its materials and the careful ability with which they have been adapted to the growing capacity of the pupils. The plan of the two primers is excellent for facilitating the child's first attempts to read. In the first three following books there is abundance of entertaining reading. . . . . Better food for young minds could hardly be found."—THE ATHENÆUM.

***The Shorter Globe Readers.**—With Illustrations. Globe 8vo.

Primer I. (48 pp.)	3*d.*	Standard III. (178 pp.)	1*s.*
Primer II. (48 pp.)	3*d.*	Standard IV. (182 pp.)	1*s.*
Standard I. (92 pp.)	6*d.*	Standard V. (216 pp.)	1*s.* 3*d.*
Standard II. (124 pp.)	9*d.*	Standard VI. (228 pp.)	1*s.* 6*d.*

* This Series has been abridged from "The Globe Readers" to meet the demand for smaller reading books.

Goldsmith.—THE TRAVELLER, or a Prospect of Society; and THE DESERTED VILLAGE. By OLIVER GOLDSMITH. With Notes, Philological and Explanatory, by J. W. HALES, M.A. Crown 8vo. 6*d.*

THE VICAR OF WAKEFIELD. With a Memoir of Goldsmith by Professor MASSON. Globe 8vo. 1*s.* (*Globe Readings from Standard Authors.*)

SELECT ESSAYS. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Professor C. D. YONGE. Fcap. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

THE TRAVELLER AND THE DESERTED VILLAGE. Edited by ARTHUR BARRETT, B.A., Professor of English Literature, Elphinstone College, Bombay. Globe 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

THE VICAR OF WAKEFIELD. Edited by HAROLD LITTLEDALE, B.A., Professor of History and English Literature, Baroda College. Globe 8vo. [*In preparation.*

Gosse.—A HISTORY OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY LITERATURE (1660-1780). By EDMUND GOSSE, M.A. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Gray.—POEMS. By JOHN BRADSHAW, LL.D. [*In preparation.*

Hales.—LONGER ENGLISH POEMS, with Notes, Philological and Explanatory, and an Introduction on the Teaching of English, Chiefly for Use in Schools. Edited by J. W. HALES, M.A., Professor of English Literature at King's College, London. New Edition. Extra fcap. 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Helps.—ESSAYS WRITTEN IN THE INTERVALS OF BUSINESS. Edited by F. J. ROWE, M.A., and W. T. WEBB, M.A., Professors of English Literature, Presidency College, Calcutta. Globe 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Johnson's LIVES OF THE POETS. The Si
(Milton, Dryden, Swift, Addison, Pope, Gray), w
"Life of Johnson." Edited with Preface and Note
ARNOLD. New and cheaper edition. Crown 8vo.

Lamb (Charles).—TALES FROM SHAKESPI
with Preface, by the Rev. CANON AINGER, M.A
2*s*. (*Globe Readings from Standard Authors.*)

Literature Primers—Edited by JOHN RIC
M.A., LL.D., Author of "A Short History of the
ENGLISH COMPOSITION. By Professor NICH
EXERCISES ON ENGLISH COMPOSITION.

ENGLISH GRAMMAR. By the Rev. R. MORRI
time President of the Philological Society. 18mo.
ENGLISH GRAMMAR EXERCISES. By R.
and H. C. BOWEN, M.A. 18mo. 1*s*.
EXERCISES ON MORRIS'S PRIMER O
GRAMMAR. By JOHN WETHERELL, of the
Liverpool College. 18mo. 1*s*.
ENGLISH LITERATURE. By STOPFORD BROO
Edition. 18mo. 1*s*.
SHAKSPERE. By Professor DOWDEN. 18mo.
THE CHILDREN'S TREASURY OF LYRIC
Selected and arranged with Notes by FRANCIS
GRAVE. In Two Parts. 18mo. 1*s*. each.
PHILOLOGY. By J. PEILE, M.A. 18mo. 1*s*.
ROMAN LITERATURE. By Professor A.
Litt.D., LL.D.

A History of English Literature in Fou
Crown 8vo.

EARLY ENGLISH LITERATURE. By STOP
M.A.
ELIZABETHAN LITERATURE. 1560—166
SAINTSBURY. 7*s*. 6*d*.
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY LITERATURE. I
EDMUND GOSSE. M.A. 7*s*. 6*d*.
THE MODERN PERIOD. By PROFESSOR E. DOW

Macmillan's Reading Books.—Adapted to
Scotch Codes. Bound in Cloth.

PRIMER. 18mo. (48 pp.) 2*d*.
BOOK I. for Standard I. 18mo. (96 pp.) 4*d*.
BOOK II. for Standard II. 18mo. (144 pp.) 5*d*.
BOOK V. for Standard V. 18mo. (380 pp.) 1*s*.
BOOK III. for 18mo. (160
BOOK IV. for 18mo. (176
BOOK VI. for St 8vo. (430 p

Book VI. is fitted for higher Classes, and as an English Literature.

Macmillan's Copy-Books—

Published in two sizes, viz. :—

1. Large Post 4to. Price *4d.* each.
2. Post Oblong. Price *2d.* each.

1. INITIATORY EXERCISES AND SHORT LETTERS.
2. WORDS CONSISTING OF SHORT LETTERS.
*3. LONG LETTERS. With Words containing Long Letters—Figures.
*4. WORDS CONTAINING LONG LETTERS.
4a. PRACTISING AND REVISING COPY-BOOK. For Nos. 1 to 4.
*5. CAPITALS AND SHORT HALF-TEXT. Words beginning with a Capital.
*6. HALF-TEXT WORDS beginning with Capitals—Figures.
*7. SMALL-HAND AND HALF-TEXT. With Capitals and Figures.
*8. SMALL-HAND AND HALF-TEXT. With Capitals and Figures.
8a. PRACTISING AND REVISING COPY-BOOK. For Nos. 5 to 8.
*9. SMALL-HAND SINGLE HEADLINES—Figures.
10. SMALL-HAND SINGLE HEADLINES—Figures.
11. SMALL-HAND DOUBLE HEADLINES—Figures.
12. COMMERCIAL AND ARITHMETICAL EXAMPLES, &c.
12a. PRACTISING AND REVISING COPY-BOOK. For Nos. 8 to 12.

* *These numbers may be had with Goodman's Patent Sliding Copies.* Large Post 4to. Price 6*d.* each.

Martin.—THE POET'S HOUR: Poetry selected and arranged for Children. By FRANCES MARTIN. New Edition. 18mo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

SPRING-TIME WITH THE POETS: Poetry selected by FRANCES MARTIN. New Edition. 18mo. 3*s* 6*d.*

Milton.—By STOPFORD BROOKE, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.* (*Classical Writers Series.*)

Milton.—PARADISE LOST. Books I. and II. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by MICHAEL MACMILLAN, B.A. Oxon, Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy, Elphinstone College, Bombay. Globe 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*, or separately 1*s.* 6*d.* each.

L'ALLEGRO, IL PENSEROSO, LYCIDAS, ARCADES, SONNETS, &c. Edited by WILLIAM BELL, M.A., Prof. of Philosophy and Logic, Government College, Lahore. Globe 8vo. 2*s.*

COMUS. By the same Editor. 1*s.* 6*d.*

SAMSON AGONISTES. By H. M. PERCIVAL, M.A., Professor of English Literature, Presidency College, Calcutta. [*Just ready.*

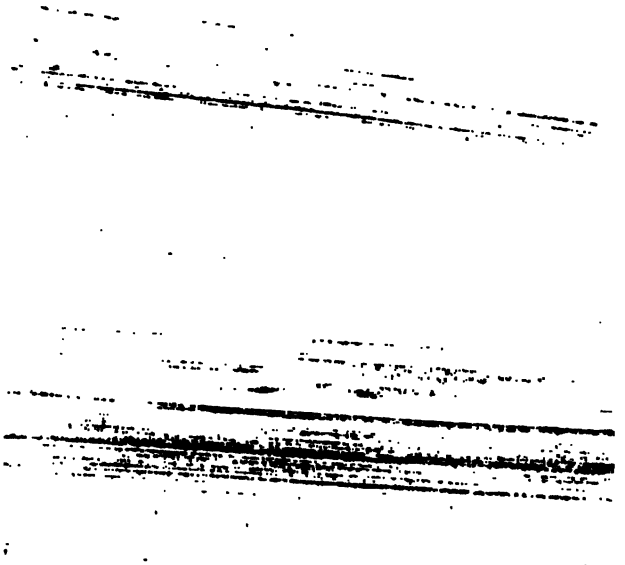
Morley.—ON THE STUDY OF LITERATURE. The Annual Address to the Students of the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching. Delivered at the Mansion House, February 26, 1887. By JOHN MORLEY. Globe 8vo. Cloth. 1*s.* 6*d.*

* *Also a Popular Edition in Pamphlet form for Distribution, price* 2*d.*

APHORISMS. By the same. Being an Address delivered before the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, November 11, 1887. Globe 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Morris.—Works by the Rev. R. MORRIS, LL.D.

HISTORICAL OUTLINES OF ENGLISH ACCIDENCE, comprising Chapters on the History and Development of the Language, and on Word-formation. New Edition. Extra fcap. 8vo.



Shakespeare—*continued.*

THE TEMPEST. Edited by K. DEIGHTON, late Principal of Agra College. Globe 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING. By the same Editor. Globe 8vo. 2*s.*

TWELFTH NIGHT. By the same Editor. Globe 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

THE WINTER'S TALE. By the same Editor. Globe 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

KING JOHN. By the same Editor. [*In preparation.*

HENRY V. By the same Editor. Globe 8vo. 2*s.*

RICHARD III. Edited by C. H. TAWNEY, M.A., Principal and Professor of English Literature, Elphinstone College, Calcutta. Globe 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

JULIUS CÆSAR. By the same Editor. [*In preparation.*

MACBETH. By K. DEIGHTON. [*In preparation.*

OTHELLO. By the same Editor. Globe 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

CYMBELINE. By the same Editor. Globe 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Sonnenschein and Meiklejohn. — THE ENGLISH METHOD OF TEACHING TO READ. By A. SONNENSCHEIN and J. M. D. MEIKLEJOHN, M.A. Fcap. 8vo.

COMPRISING:

THE NURSERY BOOK, containing all the Two-Letter Words in the Language. 1*d.* (Also in Large Type on Sheets for School Walls. 5*s.*)

THE FIRST COURSE, consisting of Short Vowels with Single Consonants. 6*d.*

THE SECOND COURSE, with Combinations and Bridges, consisting of Short Vowels with Double Consonants. 6*d.*

THE THIRD AND FOURTH COURSES, consisting of Long Vowels, and all the Double Vowels in the Language. 6*d.*

"These are admirable books, because they are constructed on a principle, and that the simplest principle on which it is possible to learn to read English."—SPECTATOR.

Southey.—LIFE OF NELSON. Edited by MICHAEL MACMILLAN, B.A. [*In the press.*

Taylor.—WORDS AND PLACES; or, Etymological Illustrations of History, Ethnology, and Geography. By the Rev. ISAAC TAYLOR, M.A., Litt. D., Hon. LL.D., Canon of York. Third and Cheaper Edition, revised and compressed. With Maps. Globe 8vo. 6*s.*

Tennyson.—The COLLECTED WORKS of LORD TENNYSON, Poet Laureate. An Edition for Schools. In Four Parts. Crown 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

SELECTIONS FROM LORD TENNYSON'S POEMS. Edited with Notes for the Use of Schools. By the Rev. ALFRED AINGER, M.A., LL.D., Canon of Bristol. [*In preparation.*

SELECT POEMS OF LORD TENNYSON. With Introduction and Notes. By F. J. ROWE, M.A., and W. T. WEBB, M.A., Professors of English Literature, Presidency College, Calcutta. Globe 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

This selection contains:—"Recollections of the Arabian Nights," "The Lady of Shalott," "Oenone," "The Lotos Eaters," "Ulysses," "Tithonus," "Morte d'Arthur," "Sir Galahad," "Dora," "Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington," and "The Revenge."

Thring.—THE ELEMENTS OF GRAMMAR TAUGHT IN ENGLISH. By EDWARD THRING, M.A., late Head Master of Uppingham. With Questions. Fourth Edition. 18mo. 2*s.*

Vaughan (C.M.).—WORDS FROM THE POETS. By C. M. VAUGHAN. New Edition. 18mo, cloth. 1*s.*

Ward.—THE ENGLISH POETS. Selections, with Critical Introductions by various Writers and a General Introduction by MATTHEW ARNOLD. Edited by T. H. WARD, M.A. 4 Vols. Vol. I. CHAUCER TO DONNE.—Vol. II. BEN JONSON TO DRYDEN.—Vol. III. ADDISON TO BLAKE.—Vol. IV. WORDSWORTH TO ROSSETTI. Crown 8vo. Each 7*s.* 6*d.*

Wetherell.—EXERCISES ON MORRIS'S PRIMER OF ENGLISH GRAMMAR. By JOHN WETHERELL, M.A. 18mo. 1*s.* (*Literature Primers.*)

Woods.—A FIRST POETRY BOOK. Compiled by M. A. WOODS, Head Mistress of the Clifton High School for Girls. Fcap. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

A SECOND POETRY BOOK. Compiled by the same. Fcap. 8vo. In two Parts, 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

A THIRD POETRY BOOK. Compiled by the same. Fcap. 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Wordsworth.—SELECTIONS. Edited by WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, B.A., Principal and Professor of History and Political Economy, Elphinstone College, Bombay. [*In preparation.*

Yonge (Charlotte M.).—THE ABRIDGED BOOK OF GOLDEN DEEDS. A Reading Book for Schools and general readers. By the Author of "The Heir of Redclyffe." 18mo, cloth. 1*s.* *Globe Readings Edition.* Globe 8vo. 2*s.*

FRENCH.

Beaumarchais.—LE BARBIER DE SEVILLE. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by L. P. BLOUET, Assistant Master in St. Paul's School. Fcap. 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Bowen.—FIRST LESSONS IN FRENCH. By H. COURTHOPE BOWEN, M.A., Principal of the Finsbury Training College for Higher and Middle Schools. Extra fcap. 8vo. 1*s.*

Breymann.—Works by HERMANN BREYMANN, Ph.D., Professor of Philology in the University of Munich.

A FRENCH GRAMMAR BASED ON PHILOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES. Second Edition. Extra fcap. 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

FIRST FRENCH EXERCISE BOOK. Extra fcap. 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

SECOND FRENCH EXERCISE BOOK. Extra fcap. 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Fasnacht.—Works by G. EUGÈNE FASNACHT, Author of "Macmillan's Progressive French Course," Editor of "Macmillan's Foreign School Classics," &c.

THE ORGANIC METHOD OF STUDYING LANGUAGES. Extra fcap. 8vo. I. French. *3s. 6d.*

A SYNTHETIC FRENCH GRAMMAR FOR SCHOOLS. Crown 8vo. *3s. 6d.*

GRAMMAR AND GLOSSARY OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. Crown 8vo. [*In preparation.*

Macmillan's Primary Series of French Reading Books.—Edited by G. EUGÈNE FASNACHT, formerly Assistant-Master in Westminster School. With Illustrations. Globe 8vo.

CORNAZ—NOS ENFANTS ET LEURS AMIS. PAR SUZANNE CORNAZ. Edited by EDITH HARVEY. With Notes, Vocabulary, and Exercises. Globe 8vo. *1s. 6d.*

DE MAISTRE—LA JEUNE SIBÉRIENNE ET LE LÉPREUX DE LA CITÉ D'AOSTE. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary. By STEPHANE BARLET, B.Sc. Univ. Gall. and London; Assistant-Master at the Mercers' School, Examiner to the College of Preceptors, the Royal Naval College, &c. *1s. 6d.*

FLORIAN—FABLES. Selected and Edited, with Notes, Vocabulary, Dialogues, and Exercises, by the Rev. CHARLES YELD, M.A., Head Master of University School, Nottingham. Illustrated. *1s. 6d.*

LA FONTAINE—A SELECTION OF FABLES. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary, by L. M. MORIARTY, B.A., Assistant Master at Harrow. *2s. 6d.*

MOLESWORTH.—FRENCH LIFE IN LETTERS. By Mrs. MOLESWORTH. With Notes on Idioms, &c. *1s. 6d.*

PERRAULT—CONTES DE FÉES. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary, by G. E. FASNACHT. New Edition with Exercises. *1s. 6d.*

(See also *German Authors*, page 81.)

Macmillan's Progressive French Course.—By G. EUGÈNE FASNACHT, formerly Assistant-Master in Westminster School.

I.—FIRST YEAR, containing Easy Lessons on the Regular Accidence. New and thoroughly revised Edition. Extra fcap. 8vo. *1s.*

II.—SECOND YEAR, containing an Elementary Grammar with copious Exercises, Notes, and Vocabularies. A new Edition, enlarged and thoroughly revised. Extra fcap. 8vo. *2s.*

III.—THIRD YEAR, containing a Systematic Syntax, and Lessons in Composition. Extra fcap. 8vo. *2s. 6d.*

THE TEACHER'S COMPANION TO MACMILLAN'S PROGRESSIVE FRENCH COURSE. With Copious Notes, Hints for Different Renderings, Synonyms, Philological Remarks, &c. By G. E. FASNACHT. Globe 8vo. First Year 4s. Second Year 4s. 6d., Third Year 4s. 6d.

I.—FIRST YEAR,
Dialogues, Balla
(1) in the order
and thoroughly r
fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6
II.—SECOND YE
Historical and I
&c. New Editic
2s. 6d.

Macmillan's Fc
EUGÈNE FASNAC

CORNEILLE—LE
DUMAS—LES D
VICTOR OGER, L
LA FONTAINE'S
MORIARTY, B.A.,
MOLIÈRE—L'AV
MOLIÈRE—LE BO
Editor. 1s. 6d.
MOLIÈRE—LES F
1s.
MOLIÈRE—LE MI
MOLIÈRE—LE MI
Editor. 1s.
RACINE—BRITAN
Assistant-Mast

Macmillan's Foreign School Classics (*continued*)—

VOLTAIRE—CHARLES XII. Edited by G. E. FASNACHT. *3s. 6d.*

*** *Other volumes to follow.*

(See also *German Authors*, page 81.)

Masson (Gustave).—A COMPENDIOUS DICTIONARY OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE (French-English and English-French). Adapted from the Dictionaries of Professor ALFRED ELWALL. Followed by a List of the Principal Diverging Derivations, and preceded by Chronological and Historical Tables. By GUSTAVE MASSON, Assistant-Master and Librarian, Harrow School. New Edition. Crown 8vo. *6s.*

Molière.—LE MALADE IMAGINAIRE. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by FRANCIS TARVER, M.A., Assistant-Master at Eton. Fcap. 8vo. *2s. 6d.*

(See also *Macmillan's Foreign School Classics.*)

Pellissier.—FRENCH ROOTS AND THEIR FAMILIES. A Synthetic Vocabulary, based upon Derivations, for Schools and Candidates for Public Examinations. By EUGÈNE PELLISSIER, M.A., B.Sc., LL.B., Assistant-Master at Clifton College, Lecturer at University College, Bristol. Globe 8vo. *6s.*

GERMAN.

Huss.—A SYSTEM OF ORAL INSTRUCTION IN GERMAN, by means of Progressive Illustrations and Applications of the leading Rules of Grammar. By HERMANN C. O. HUSS, Ph.D. Crown 8vo. *5s.*

Macmillan's Progressive German Course. By G. EUGÈNE FASNACHT.

PART I.—FIRST YEAR. Easy Lessons and Rules on the Regular Accidence. Extra fcap. 8vo. *1s. 6d.*

Part II.—SECOND YEAR. Conversational Lessons in Systematic Accidence and Elementary Syntax. With Philological Illustrations and Etymological Vocabulary. New Edition, enlarged and thoroughly recast. Extra fcap. 8vo. *3s. 6d.*

Part III.—THIRD YEAR. [*In the press.*

TEACHER'S COMPANION TO MACMILLAN'S PROGRESSIVE GERMAN COURSE. With copious Notes, Hints for Different Renderings, Synonyms, Philological Remarks, &c. By G. E. FASNACHT. Extra Fcap. 8vo. FIRST YEAR. *4s. 6d.*

SECOND YEAR. *4s. 6d.*

Macmillan's Progressive German Readers. By G. E. FASNACHT.

I.—FIRST YEAR, containing an Introduction to the German order of Words, with Copious Examples, extracts from German Authors in Prose and Poetry; Notes, and Vocabularies. Extra Fcap. 8vo. *2s. 6d.*

Macmillan's Primary German Reading Books.

(See also *French Authors*, page 78.)

GRIMM—KINDER UND HAUSMÄRCHEN. Selected and Edited, with Notes, and Vocabulary, by G. E. FASNACHT. New Edition, with Exercises. *2s. 6d.*

HAUFF.—DIE KARAVANE. Edited, with Notes and Vocabulary, by HERMAN HAGER, Ph.D. Lecturer in the Owens College, Manchester. New Edition, with Exercises, arranged by G. E. FASNACHT. *3s.*

SCHMID, CHR. VON.—H. VON EICHENFELS. Edited, with Notes, Vocabulary, and Exercises, by G. E. Fasnacht. *2s. 6d.*

Macmillan's Foreign School Classics.

Edited by G. EUGÈNE FASNACHT, 18mo.

GERMAN.

FREYTAG (G.).—DOKTOR LUTHER. Edited by FRANCIS STORR, M.A., Head Master of the Modern Side, Merchant Taylors' School. *[In preparation.*

GOETHE—GÖTZ VON BERLICHINGEN. Edited by H. A. BULL, M.A., Assistant Master at Wellington College. *2s.*

GOETHE—FAUST. PART I., followed by an Appendix on PART II. Edited by JANE LEE, Lecturer in German Literature at Newnham College, Cambridge. *4s. 6d.*

HEINE—SELECTIONS FROM THE REISEBILDER AND OTHER PROSE WORKS. Edited by C. COLBECK, M.A., Assistant-Master at Harrow, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. *2s. 6d.*

LESSING.—MINNA VON BARNHELM. Edited by JAMES SIME, M.A. *[In preparation.*

SCHILLER—SELECTIONS FROM SCHILLER'S LYRICAL POEMS. Edited, with Notes and a Memoir of Schiller, by E. J. TURNER, B.A., and E. D. A. MORSHEAD, M.A. Assistant-Masters in Winchester College. *2s. 6d.*

SCHILLER—DIE JUNGFRAU VON ORLEANS. Edited by JOSEPH GOSTWICK. *2s. 6d.*

SCHILLER—MARIA STUART. Edited by C. SHELDON, M.A., D.Lit., of the Royal Academical Institution, Belfast. *2s. 6d.*

SCHILLER—WILHELM TELL. Edited by G. E. FASNACHT. *2s. 6d.*

SCHILLER.—WALLENSTEIN. Part I. DAS LAGER. Edited by H. B. COTTERILL, M.A. *2s.*

UHLAND—SELECT BALLADS. Adapted as a First Easy Reading Book for Beginners. With Vocabulary. Edited by G. E. FASNACHT. *1s.*

*** *Other Volumes to follow.*

(See also French Authors, page 79.)

Pylodet.—NEW GUIDE TO GERMAN CONVERSATION; containing an Alphabetical List of nearly 800 Familiar Words; followed by Exercises; Vocabulary of Words in frequent use; Familiar Phrases and Dialogues; a Sketch of German Literature, Idiomatic Expressions, &c. By L. PYLODET. 18mo, cloth limp. *2s. 6d.*

Whitney.—Works by W. D. WHITNEY, Professor of Sanskrit and Instructor in Modern Languages in Yale College.

A COMPENDIOUS GERMAN GRAMMAR. Crown 8vo. *4s. 6d.*

A GERMAN READER IN PROSE AND VERSE. With Notes and Vocabulary. Crown 8vo. *5s.*

Whitney and Edgren.—A COMPENDIOUS GERMAN AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY, with Notation of Correspondences and Brief Etymologies. By Professor W. D. WHITNEY, assisted by A. H. EDGREN. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

THE GERMAN-ENGLISH PART, separately, *5s.*

MODERN GREEK.

Vincent and Dickson. — HANDBOOK TO MODERN GREEK. By Sir EDGAR VINCENT, K.C.M.G. and T. G. DICKSON, M.A. Second Edition, revised and enlarged, with Appendix on the relation of Modern and Classical Greek by Professor JEBB. Crown 8vo. *6s.*

ITALIAN.

Dante. — THE PURGATORY OF DANTE. Edited, with Translation and Notes, by A. J. BUTLER, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo. *12s. 6d.*

THE PARADISO OF DANTE. Edited, with Translation and Notes, by the same Author. Crown 8vo. *12s. 6d.*

READINGS ON THE PURGATORIO OF DANTE. Chiefly based on the Commentary of Benvenuto Da Imola. By the Hon. WILLIAM WARREN VERNON, M.A. With an Introduction by the Very Rev. the DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. *24s.*

SPANISH.

Calderon.—FOUR PLAYS OF CALDERON. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by NORMAN MACCOLL, M.A., late Fellow of Downing College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo. *14s.*

The four plays here given are *El Principe Constante, La Vida es Sueno, El Alcalde de Zalamea*, and *El Escondido y La Tapada.*

DOMESTIC ECONOMY.

Barker.—FIRST LESSONS IN THE PRINCIPLES OF COOKING. By LADY BARKER. New Edition. 18mo. *1s.*

Berners.—FIRST LESSONS ON HEALTH. By J. BERNERS. *New Edition.* 18mo. *1s.*

Cookery Book.—THE MIDDLE-CLASS COOKERY BOOK. Edited by the Manchester School of Domestic Cookery. Post 8vo. *1s. 6d.*

Craven.—A GUIDE TO DISTRICT NURSES. By Mrs. DACRE CRAVEN (*née* Florence Sarah Lees), Hon. Associate of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, &c. Crown 8vo. *2s. 6d.*

Fawcett.—TALES IN POLITICAL ECONOMY. By Mrs. HENRY FAWCETT. Globe 8vo. *3s.*

Frederick.—HINTS TO HOUSEWIVES ON SEVERAL POINTS, PARTICULARLY ON THE PREPARATION OF ECONOMICAL AND TASTEFUL DISHES. By Mrs. FREDERICK. Crown 8vo. *1s.*

"This unpretending and useful little volume distinctly supplies a desideratum . . . . The author steadily keeps in view the simple aim of 'making every-day meals at home, particularly the dinner, attractive,' without adding to the ordinary household expenses."—SATURDAY REVIEW.

Grand'homme.—CUTTING-OUT AND DRESSMAKING. From the French of Mdlle. E. GRAND'HOMME. With Diagrams, 18mo. *1s.*

Jex-Blake.—THE CARE OF INFANTS. A Manual for Mothers and Nurses. By SOPHIA JEX-BLAKE, M.D., Member of the Irish College of Physicians; Lecturer on Hygiene at the London School of Medicine for Women. 18mo. *1s.*

Tegetmeier.—HOUSEHOLD MANAGEMENT AND COOKERY. With an Appendix of Recipes used by the Teachers of the National School of Cookery. By W. B. TEGETMEIER. Compiled at the request of the School Board for London. 18mo. *1s.*

Thornton.—FIRST LESSONS IN BOOK-KEEPING. By J. THORNTON. New Edition. Crown 8vo. *2s. 6d.*

The object of this volume is to make the theory of Book-keeping sufficiently plain for even children to understand it.

A KEY TO THE ABOVE FOR THE USE OF TEACHERS AND PRIVATE STUDENTS. Containing all the Exercises worked out, with brief Notes. By J. THORNTON. Oblong 4to. *10s. 6d.*

Wright.—THE SCHOOL COOKERY-BOOK. Compiled and Edited by C. E. GUTHRIE WRIGHT, Hon Sec. to the Edinburgh School of Cookery. 18mo. *1s.*

ART AND KINDRED SUBJECTS.

Anderson.—LINEAR PERSPECTIVE, AND MODEL DRAWING. A School and Art Class Manual, with Questions and Exercises for Examination, and Examples of Examination Papers. By LAURENCE ANDERSON. With Illustrations. Royal 8vo. *2s.*

Collier.—A PRIMER OF ART. With Illustrations. By JOHN COLLIER. 18mo. 1*s.*

Cook.—THE NATIONAL GALLERY: A POPULAR HAND-BOOK TO. By EDWARD T. COOK, with a Preface by JOHN RUSKIN, LL.D., and Selections from his Writings. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. Half Morocco, 14*s.*

*** Also an Edition on large paper, limited to 250 copies. 2 vols. 8vo.

Delamotte.—A BEGINNER'S DRAWING BOOK. By P. H. DELAMOTTE, F.S.A. Progressively arranged. New Edition improved. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Ellis.—SKETCHING FROM NATURE. A Handbook for Students and Amateurs. By TRISTRAM J. ELLIS. With a Frontispiece and Ten Illustrations, by H. STACY MARKS, R.A., and Thirty Sketches by the Author. New Edition, revised and enlarged. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Hunt.—TALKS ABOUT ART. By WILLIAM HUNT. With a Letter from Sir J. E. MILLAIS, Bart., R.A. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Meldola.—THE CHEMISTRY OF PHOTOGRAPHY. By RAPHAEL MELDOLA, F.R.S., Professor of Chemistry in the Technical College, Finsbury, City and Guilds of London Institute for the Advancement of Technical Education. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* (*Nature Series.*)

Taylor.—A PRIMER OF PIANOFORTE PLAYING. By FRANKLIN TAYLOR. Edited by Sir GEORGE GROVE. 18mo. 1*s.*

Taylor.—A MANUAL OF SIGHT SINGING. By SEDLEY TAYLOR, M.A., Author of "Sound and Music." [*In the press.*

Tyrwhitt.—OUR SKETCHING CLUB. Letters and Studies on Landscape Art. By the Rev. R. ST. JOHN TYRWHITT, M.A. With an authorised Reproduction of the Lessons and Woodcuts in Prof. Ruskin's "Elements of Drawing." Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

WORKS ON TEACHING.

Arnold.—REPORTS ON ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS. 1852-1882. By MATTHEW ARNOLD, D.C.L., LL.D. Edited by the Right Hon. Sir FRANCIS SANDFORD, K.C.B. Cheaper Issue. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Ball.—THE STUDENT'S GUIDE TO THE BAR. By WALTER W. R. BALL, M.A., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law; *Fellow* and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge, and *Fellow* of University College, London. Fourth Edition, Revised. Crown 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Blakiston—THE TEACHER. Hints on School Ma
A Handbook for Managers, Teachers' Assistants,
Teachers. By J. R. BLAKISTON, M.A. Crown 8vo
(Recommended by the London, Birmingham, and
School Boards.)

"Into a comparatively small book he has crowded a great deal of exce
ful and sound advice. It is a plain, common-sense book, full of hints to
on the management of his school and his children."—SCHOOL BOARD CH

Calderwood.—ON TEACHING. By Professor HENRY
WOOD. New Edition. Extra fcap. 8vo. *2s. 6d.*

Geikie.—THE TEACHING OF GEOGRAPHY. A
Handbook for the use of Teachers. By ARCHIBALD
F.R.S., Director-General of the Geological Survey of t
Kingdom, &c. (Being the Introductory Volume to M
Geographical Series.) Crown 8vo. *2s.*

Gladstone.—OBJECT TEACHING. A Lecture del
the Pupil-Teacher Centre, William Street Board Scho
mersmith. By J. H. GLADSTONE, Ph.D., F.R.S., M
the London School Board. With an Appendix.
8vo. *3d.*

"It is a short but interesting and instructive publication, and ou
teachers will do well to read it carefully and thoroughly. There is mu
few pages which they can learn and profit by."—THE SCHOOL GUARDIAN

Hertel.—OVERPRESSURE IN HIGH SCHOOLS I
MARK. By Dr. HERTEL, Municipal Medical Officer
hagen. Translated from the Danish by C. GODFREY SÖ
With Introduction by Sir J. CRICHTON-BROWNE, M.D.,
F.R.S. Crown 8vo. *3s. 6d.*

DIVINITY.

*** For other Works by these Authors, see THEO
CATALOGUE.

Abbott (Rev. E. A.)—BIBLE LESSONS. By t
E. A. ABBOTT, D.D., formerly Head Master of the
London School. New Edition. Crown 8vo. *4s. 6d.*

"Wise, suggestive, and really profound initiation into religious
—GUARDIAN.

Abbott—Rushbrooke.—THE COMMON TRADITI
THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS, in the Text of the
Version. By EDWIN A. ABBOTT, D.D., formerly Fello
John's College, Cambridge, and W. G. RUSHBROOKE,
formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Cr. 8vo.

The Acts of the Apostles.—Being the Greek
revised by Professors WESTCOTT and HORT. With Expl
Notes for the Use of Schools, by T. E. PAGE, M.A., late
of St. John's College, Cambridge; Assistant Master at the
house. Fcap. 8vo. *4s. 6d.*

Arnold.—Works by MATTHEW ARNOLD, D.C.L., formerly Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, and Fellow of Oriel.

A BIBLE-READING FOR SCHOOLS.—THE GREAT PROPHECY OF ISRAEL'S RESTORATION (Isaiah, Chapters xl.—lxvi.). Arranged and Edited for Young Learners. New Edition. 18mo, cloth. *1s.*

ISAIAH XL.—LXVI. With the Shorter Prophecies allied to it. Arranged and Edited, with Notes. Crown 8vo. *5s.*

ISAIAH OF JERUSALEM, IN THE AUTHORISED ENGLISH VERSION. With Introduction, Corrections, and Notes. Crown 8vo. *4s. 6d.*

Benham.—A COMPANION TO THE LECTIONARY. Being a Commentary on the Proper Lessons for Sundays and Holy Days. By Rev. W. BENHAM, B.D., Rector of S. Edmund with S. Nicholas Acons, &c. New Edition. Crown 8vo. *4s. 6d.*

Cassel.—MANUAL OF JEWISH HISTORY AND LITERATURE; preceded by a BRIEF SUMMARY OF BIBLE HISTORY. By DR. D. CASSEL. Translated by Mrs. HENRY LUCAS. Fcap. 8vo. *2s. 6d.*

Cheetham.—A CHURCH HISTORY OF THE FIRST SIX CENTURIES. By the Ven. ARCHDEACON CHEETHAM, Crown 8vo. *[In the press.*

Cross.—BIBLE READINGS SELECTED FROM THE PENTATEUCH AND THE BOOK OF JOSHUA. By the Rev. JOHN A. CROSS. Second Edition enlarged, with Notes. Globe 8vo. *2s. 6d.*

Curteis.—MANUAL OF THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES. By G. H. CURTEIS, M.A., Principal of the Lichfield Theological College. *[In preparation.*

Davies.—THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL TO THE EPHESIANS, THE COLOSSIANS, AND PHILEMON; with Introductions and Notes, and an Essay on the Traces of Foreign Elements in the Theology of these Epistles. By the Rev. J. LLEWELYN DAVIES, M.A., Rector of Christ Church, St. Marylebone; late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

Drummond.—THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY, INTRODUCTION TO. By JAMES DRUMMOND, LL.D., Professor of Theology in Manchester New College, London. Crown 8vo. *5s.*

Gaskoin.—THE CHILDREN'S TREASURY OF BIBLE STORIES. By Mrs. HERMAN GASKOIN. Edited with Preface by Rev. G. F. MACLEAR, D.D. PART I.—OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY. 18mo. *1s.* PART II.—NEW TESTAMENT. 18mo. *1s.* PART III.—THE APOSTLES: ST. JAMES THE GREAT, ST. PAUL, AND ST. JOHN THE DIVINE. 18mo. *1s.*

Greek Testame
HORT. School
roan, red edges.

GREEK TESTAM
the outline of th
additions from th
Edited, with Not
M.A., late Fellow
4s. 6d.

THE ACTS OF
revised by Drs. W
by T. E. PAGE,
Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6

THE GOSPEL AC
Greek Text as r
Explanatory Note
Birkenhead Schoo

THE GOSPEL AC
Text as revised by
Notes by Rev. J.
College, Cambrid

THE GOSPEL AC
Text as revised b
tory Notes by Rev

Hardwick.—Wor

A HISTORY OF
Age. From Gr
Luther. Edited
of Modern Histo
Maps. New Edit

Jennings and Lowe.—THE PSALMS, WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND CRITICAL NOTES. By A. C. JENNINGS, M.A.; assisted in parts by W. H. LOWE, M.A. In 2 vols. Second Edition Revised. Crown 8vo. *10s. 6d.* each.

Kay.—ST. PAUL'S TWO EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS, A COMMENTARY ON. By the late Rev. W. KAY, D.D., Rector of Great Leghs, Essex, and Hon. Canon of St. Albans; formerly Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta; and Fellow and Tutor of Lincoln College. Demy 8vo. *9s.*

Kuenen.—PENTATEUCH AND BOOK OF JOSHUA: an Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch. By A. KUENEN, Professor of Theology at Leiden. Translated from the Dutch, with the assistance of the Author, by PHILLIP H. WICKSTEED, M.A. 8vo. *14s.*

The OXFORD MAGAZINE says:—"The work is absolutely indispensable to all special students of the Old Testament."

Lightfoot.—Works by the Right Rev. J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., late Bishop of Durham.

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS. A Revised Text, with Introduction, Notes, and Dissertations. Ninth Edition, revised. 8vo. *12s.*

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS. A Revised Text, with Introduction, Notes, and Dissertations. Ninth Edition, revised. 8vo. *12s.*

ST. CLEMENT OF ROME—THE TWO EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS. A Revised Text, with Introduction and Notes. 8vo. *8s. 6d.*

ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES TO THE COLOSSIANS AND TO PHILEMON. A Revised Text, with Introductions, Notes, and Dissertations. Eighth Edition, revised. 8vo. *12s.*

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS. Part II. S. IGNATIUS—S. POLYCARP. Revised Texts, with Introductions, Notes, Dissertations, and Translations. Second Edition. 3 vols. 8vo. *48s.*

APOSTOLIC FATHERS. Abridged Edition. With short Introductions, Greek Text, and English Translation. By the same Author. 8vo. *[In the press.*

ESSAYS ON THE WORK ENTITLED "SUPERNATURAL RELIGION." (Reprinted from the *Contemporary Review.*) 8vo. *10s. 6d.*

Maclear.—Works by the Rev. G. F. MACLEAR, D.D., Canon of Canterbury, Warden of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, and late Head-Master of King's College School, London:—

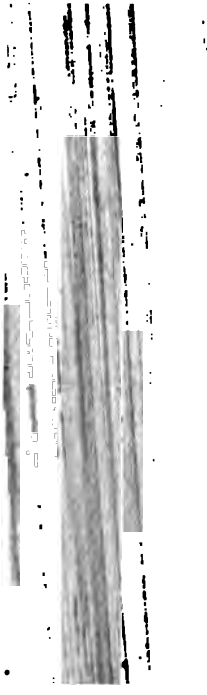
ELEMENTARY THEOLOGICAL CLASS-BOOKS.

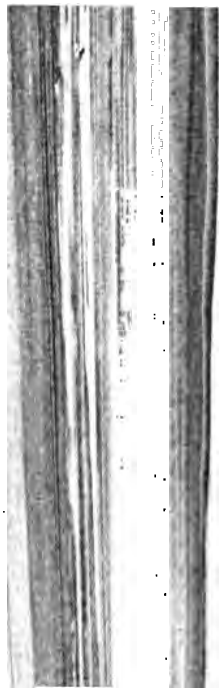
A CLASS-BOOK OF OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY. New Edition, with Four Maps. 18mo. *4s. 6d.*

A CLASS-BOOK OF NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY, including the Connection of the Old and New Testaments. With Four Maps. New Edition. 18mo. *5s. 6d.*

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES. *[In the press.*

CLASS BOOK OF THE CREEDS. 18mo. *2s. 6d.*





OF ENGL

A FIRST (
CHURCH
Classes an

A MANUA
AND FI
DEVOTI(

Maurice.—
THE CO
Schoolmas
By the Rev

Pentateuch
Inquiry int
A. KUENE
the Dutch,
WICKSTEE

Procter.—A
PRAYER,
M.A. 18t

Procter an
DUCTIO
arranged a
and Evenin
and the F
containing
Baptismal (

Psalms T

Ramsay.—THE CATECHISER'S MANUAL; or, the Church Catechism Illustrated and Explained, for the Use of Clergymen, Schoolmasters, and Teachers. By the Rev. ARTHUR RAMSAY, M.A. New Edition. 18mo. *1s. 6d.*

Rendall.—THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS. English Text with Commentary. By the Rev. F. RENDALL, M.A., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Master of Harrow School. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

Ryle.—AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By Rev. H. E. RYLE, M.A., Fellow of King's College, and Hulsean Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. Crown 8vo. [*In preparation.*

Simpson.—AN EPITOME OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH DURING THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES, AND OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. Compiled for the use of Students in Schools and Universities by the Rev. WILLIAM SIMPSON, M.A., Queen's College, Cambridge. Seventh Edition. Fcap. 8vo. *3s. 6d.*

St. James' Epistle.—The Greek Text with Introduction and Notes. By Rev. JOSEPH MAYOR, M.A., Professor of Moral Philosophy in King's College, London. 8vo. [*In preparation.*

St. John's Epistles.—The Greek Text with Notes and Essays, by BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, and Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, Canon of Westminstier &c. Second Edition Revised. 8vo. *12s. 6d.*

St. Paul's Epistles.—Greek Text, with Introduction and Notes.

THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS. Edited by the Right Rev. J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D., Bishop of Durham. Ninth Edition. 8vo. *12s.*

THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS. By the same Editor. Ninth Edition. 8vo. *12s.*

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS AND TO PHILEMON. By the same Editor. Eighth Edition. 8vo. *12s.*

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS. Edited by the Very Rev. C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D., Dean of Llandaff, and Master of the Temple. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS, with Translation, Paraphrase, and Notes for English Readers. By the same Editor. Crown 8vo. *5s.*

THE EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS, COMMENTARY ON THE GREEK TEXT. By JOHN EADIE, D.D., LL.D. Edited by the Rev. W. YOUNG, M.A., with Preface by Professor CAIRNS. 8vo. *12s.*

St. Paul's Epistles—*continued*

THE EPISTLES TO THE EPHESI
AND PHILEMON; with Introd
Essay on the Traces of Foreign Elem
Epistles. By the Rev. J. LLEWELY
Christ Church, St. Marylebone; late
Cambridge. Second Edition, revised

THE TWO EPISTLES TO THE C
MENTARY ON. By the late Rev
Great Leghs, Essex, and Hon. Cano
Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta
Lincoln College. Demy 8vo. 9s.

The Epistle to the Hebrews.
With Critical and Explanatory Notes.
RENDALL, M.A., formerly Fellow of T
and Assistant-Master at Harrow School.

THE ENGLISH TEXT, WITH COM
same Editor. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

The Epistle to the Hebrews.
VAUGHAN, D.D., Dean of Llandaff,
Crown 8vo.

*** A Companion Volume to that on the Ep
which the Sixth Edition was publish

The Epistle to the Hebrews. T
Notes and Essays by Canon WESTCOTT, D.D

Westcott.—Works by BROOKE FOSS WESTC
Westminster, Regius Professor of Divinity, a
College, Cambridge.

A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE HIS
CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT
FIRST FOUR CENTURIES. Sixth Edition
"Supernatural Religion." Crown 8vo. 10s. 6

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY O
GOSPELS. Seventh Edition. Crown 8vo.

THE BIBLE IN THE CHURCH. A Popul
Collection and Reception of the Holy Scripture
Churches. New Edition. 18mo, cloth. 4s. 6d.

THE EPISTLES OF ST. JOHN. The Greek T
and Essays. Second Edition Revised. 8vo. 12

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS. Th
with Notes and Essays. 8vo. 14s.

SOME THOUGHTS FROM THE ORDINAL.

Westcott and Hort.—THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE ORIGINAL GREEK. The Text Revised by B. F. WESTCOTT, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Canon of Westminster, and F. J. A. HORT, D.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge: late Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge. 2 vols. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.* each.

Vol. I. Text.

Vol. II. Introduction and Appendix.

Westcott and Hort.—THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE ORIGINAL GREEK, FOR SCHOOLS. The Text Revised by BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., and FENTON JOHN ANTHONY HORT, D.D. 12mo. cloth. 4*s.* 6*d.* 18mo. roan, red edges. 5*s.* 6*d.*

Wilson.—THE BIBLE STUDENT'S GUIDE to the more Correct Understanding of the English Translation of the Old Testament, by reference to the original Hebrew. By WILLIAM WILSON, D.D., Canon of Winchester, late Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. Second Edition, carefully revised. 4to. cloth. 25*s.*

Wright.—THE BIBLE WORD-BOOK: A Glossary of Archaic Words and Phrases in the Authorised Version of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. By W. ALDIS WRIGHT, M.A., Vice-Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Yonge (Charlotte M.).—SCRIPTURE READINGS FOR SCHOOLS AND FAMILIES. By CHARLOTTE M. YONGE, Author of "The Heir of Redclyffe." In Five Vols.

FIRST SERIES. GENESIS TO DEUTERONOMY. Extra fcap. 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.* With Comments, 3*s.* 6*d.*

SECOND SERIES. From JOSHUA to SOLOMON. Extra fcap. 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.* With Comments, 3*s.* 6*d.*

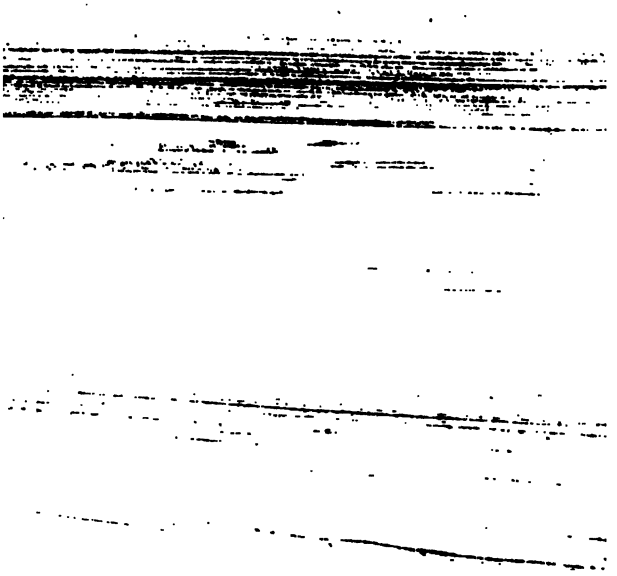
THIRD SERIES. The KINGS and the PROPHETS. Extra fcap. 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.* With Comments, 3*s.* 6*d.*

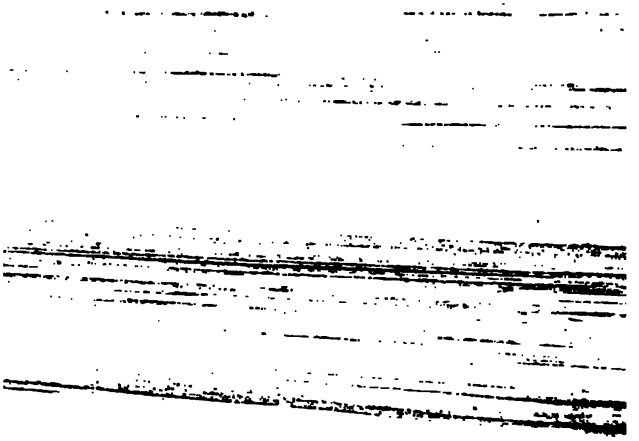
FOURTH SERIES. The GOSPEL TIMES. 1*s.* 6*d.* With Comments. Extra fcap. 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

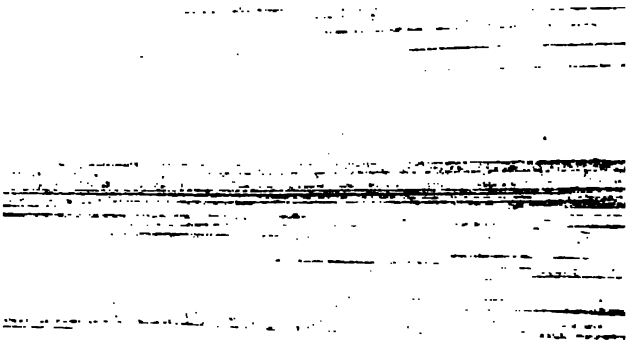
FIFTH SERIES. APOSTOLIC TIMES. Extra fcap. 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.* With Comments, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Zechariah—Lowe.—THE HEBREW STUDENT'S COMMENTARY ON ZECHARIAH, HEBREW AND LXX. With Excursus on Syllable-dividing, Metheg, Initial Dagesh, and Siman Rapheh. By W. H. LOWE, M.A., Hebrew Lecturer at Christ's College, Cambridge. Demy 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

RICHARD CLAY AND SONS, LIMITED, LONDON AND BUNGAY.







3 2044 024 360 378

A FINE IS INCURRED IF THIS BOOK IS NOT RETURNED TO THE LIBRARY ON OR BEFORE THE LAST DATE STAMPED BELOW.

WIDENER
WIDENER
JUN 1 2001
FEB 10 2001
CANCELLED

APR 8 '74 H

DEC 18 '74 H

WIDENER
WIDENER
JUN 1 200
SEP 11 1995
CANCELLED